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HONECKER: GDR WILL CONSIDER CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN

LD201515 Hamburg DPA in German 1417 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Mainz, 20 Feb (DPA) -- The communist state and party leader of the GDR, Erich Honecker, has reacted positively in a letter to an initiative by the West German Trade Union official Julius Lehlbach of Rhineland-Palatinate, who called for a bilateral treaty between the two German states on banning chemical weapons.

On Monday Lehlbach made public the letter from Honecker, in which the State Council chairman describes agreements on the banning and liquidation of chemical weapons as one of the possible measures for lessening the danger of war.

Lehlbach, a regional chairman of the German Federation of Trade Unions [DGB], sent simultaneous letters on 23 January to Honecker and to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. In that letter the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe was described as a "unique opportunity" for banning poisonous gas, a weapon of mass destruction, "from the territory of both German states."

Lehlbach states that he has not yet received an answer from Chancellor Kohl. He submitted his proposal because according to information available to him, Rhineland-Palatinate is the main area of deployment for U.S. nerve gas.

In his letter Honecker stresses that the GDR is prepared to enter into direct negotiations and consider every realistic proposal that could gradually result in Europe being free of chemical weapons.

This applies also to a proposal to conclude a corresponding agreement between the two German states in order to "stimulate agreements for large areas or for the whole of Europe."

'SECRET' U.S.-NATO TALKS ON ANTIMISSILE SYSTEM

LD201815 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] London [no date as received] -- The Reagan administration has held a series of secret consultations with its NATO allies on the possibility of creating an anti-missile system which would include laser weapons in outer space. In London, U.S. State and Defence Department officials conferred with their British colleagues.

Realization of President Reagan's plan for a new anti-missile system would be in violation of the 1972 Soviet-U.S. agreement on limitation of anti-missile defence systems.

VIENNA TALKS PRESERVE 'IMPERIALIST' 'MONOPOLY'

AU181732 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Agencies, referring to American officials, report that talks were held in Vienna recently between American and Soviet delegations in connection with the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Kennedy, the leader of the American delegation, stated in the U.S. Embassy, where the talks were held, that they took place in a cordial, constructive, and working atmosphere, adding that consultations took place with Soviet officials on a number of problems.

These meetings between representatives of the superpowers, even in the conditions of bitter rivalry, prove Washington's and Moscow's desire to keep open various communication channels continually, negotiate, and hatch plots at the expense of the peoples and peace. White House and Kremlin representatives have recently intimated the possible resumption of the Geneva and Vienna talks on, respectively, nuclear and conventional weapons. The talks about nonprofileration of nuclear weapons serve both imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in their efforts to preserve their monopoly of these weapons, to threaten and intimidate the peoples of the world.

CHNOUPEK ON REDUCING MILITARY CONFRONTATION

LD171752 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, the minister of foreign affairs, organized a meeting with the heads of consular offices in the capital of Slovakia at Bratislava castle today.

Also present at the meeting were Jan Janik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and other representatives from political life. Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized the increase in military and political tension, caused above all by the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. In this context he reminded us that the unavoidable defense measures of the Warsaw Pact member-states will be realized to an extent and at a tempo which will adequately meet the actions of NATO countries. Czechoslovakia, however, Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized, is prepared to support any further measures for the strengthening of trust and security, if they will effectively help to realistically reduce the threat of a military confrontation in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

HUNGARY FAVORS NONUSE OF FORCE TREATY AT CDE

LD202221 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] The head of the Hungarian delegation at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures in Europe has supported a proposal which suggests that a treaty be signed which would state that the countries of Europe decline to use military force.

Taking on this obligation would create a better atmosphere. The conference is concerned with strengthening confidence and security, and with disarmament. Ambassador Istvan Varga said in his speech that the basis of European security is the military balance, which has evolved by a historical process, and which also includes both conventional and nuclear weapons.

The Hungarian diplomat distanced himself from the views represented by the Western countries at the conference, and whose essence is, that European security might be increased indirectly by adopting various confidence-building measures.

GDR READY TO NEGOTIATE NUCLEAR-FREE CORRIDOR

DW171129 Duesseldorf UNSERE ZEIT in German 16 Feb 84 p 4

[Report on interview with Dr Guenther Buehring, head of the GDR delegation at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, by correspondent Hugo Braun in Stockholm -- date not given]

[Excerpts] "You have to understand the situation of the GDR, which sees itself exposed to a threatening situation, and which has to accept first-strike weapons being deployed directly at its doorstep," Dr Buehring says. He adds: "It would really be a confidence-building step if the United States stated that it would not use these weapons for a first strike. Stated differently, first-strike missiles cannot create confidence."

The GDR diplomat also cites the proposal to conclude an agreement on the renunciation of force and points out, "particularly with a view to FRG people," that the so-called new ostpolitik -- the system of treaties between the FRG, the Soviet Union, Poland, the CSSR, and the GDR -- would never have been achieved without the most important aspect -- the renunciation of force. In this connection, the diplomat asks: "Why should it not be possible through an all-European renunciation of force agreement in the eighties to create a similar stimulus for a turn to the good as sustained in the seventies through those treaties."

Finally, the GDR representative again stresses his country's preparedness "in accordance with the Swedish Government's proposal, to make all of the GDR available for a corridor free of nuclear combat weapons in Central Europe." Dr Buehring adds: "I am telling you no secret when I say that we are not committed to the entire GDR, but that we are prepared to negotiate on a 150-, 200-, or 300-km nuclear-free corridor. The reason we are in Stockholm is to talk concretely about such confidence-building measures."

How does the head of the GDR delegation in Stockholm view the connection between the peace movement and this conference? Dr Buehring first quotes GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fisher: "The conference will be successful to the extent the international public can enforce realistic action." He adds: "Nobody who has attentively followed the intensity with which the deployment of the new U.S. missiles has been pursued will seriously believe that those who have deployed them will be prepared to voluntarily take them back. Therefore, I believe that a great condition now for the successful development of this conference is for the peace movement and the peace forces to express their demands and make them felt."

ELECTION OF USSR'S CHERNENKO APPLAUDED

AU171218 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Feb 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Staunchly and Confidently Proceeding Along the Tested Path"]

[Text] Red Square -- The heart of Moscow and of the entire Soviet country -- the day before yesterday gathered together the sorrow and grief of all the glorious Soviet people and of all their friends from near and distant parts of the globe. The Soviet Communists, the workers from the plants and the toilers in the fields, the veterans and the young generation -- all accompanied Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov -- the man and leader, who until the end devoted his talent as a politician and statesman of the remarkable Leninist guard to the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism -- on his last journey.

The music of the ceremonial march at the funeral touched the hearts of the Bulgarian Communists and of all citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and filled them with infinite sorrow. They sincerely shared the heavy loss suffered by the CPSU and the Soviet country and expressed their fraternal sympathy.

At the moment of parting, when all the red flags were at half-mast, the loyal fellow workers of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov stood by in deep sorrow. Thousands of representatives of the workers class, peasants from the fruitful Soviet fields, and representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia, as well as the envoys of the fraternal socialist countries and of the international communist and workers movement, delegations from dozens of states and international organizations from all continents on the globe were standing side by side with them. In these moments of sorrow the funeral ceremony sublimated the feeling of sorrow at the great loss. In these minutes of grief the unity, the monolithic cohesion of the Soviet people around the policy of the party -- their leader -- was manifested in a particularly impressive manner.

The Soviet Union has overcome many trials and sorrows in its tremendous historical development. Some of them even seemed insurmountable. However, the Soviet Union always emerged as a victor from them, with even greater strength and consolidated faith in the vital strength and justice of its revolutionary cause. The present great loss is a trial, as well. The overcoming of sorrow and pain is an inevitable criterion for the resilience of moral-political virtues, for the strength and vital force of the Soviet masses' historical optimism. The Soviet people are emerging from this trial with their powerful faith and bright hope for the future, because they can rely upon the unshakable support and inspiring example represented by the Communist Party -- their tested political vanguard.

In his speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum held on Monday, 13 February, Konstantin Chernenko, the newly elected general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, declared: "Continuity is not an abstract concept; it is a living and real fact. Its very essence, above all, consists of the demand to continue, to further advance, without stopping. We must further proceed by relying on all our past successes, by enriching our achievements in a creative manner, by concentrating the collective thought and energy of the Communists and of the workers class, as well as of the entire people upon the unresolved tasks, upon the crucial problems of our present and future." These are words of principle; they have a programmatic character. They reflect the profound, sound, and consistent Leninist basis for the construction and perfection of the CPSU political line, whose main criterion has always been represented by boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism.

The CPSU has confirmed this loyalty at the present moment as well. It has confirmed this loyalty with its sober, thoroughly scientific evaluation of the immediate tasks facing the further perfection of Soviet society, the tasks connected with the pursuit of a staunch policy aimed at overcoming the existing difficulties that emerged at the end of the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties.

The strength of the CPSU lies in its capacity to develop and guide the working masses' creative activities and to rally them both from an ideological and organizational point of view, inspired by the tested Leninist principles and methods.

Our era has confronted the world with crucial problems of decisive importance for our future. The imperialist forces, the leading circles in the United States and within NATO have adopted an open, militarist policy of unprecedented escalation in the armament race, based on an unrestrained expansion of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

This shortsighted foreign policy threatens the peoples with the real danger that a thermonuclear conflict may erupt, likely to transform the fruits of human civilization into a heap of lifeless ruins, a conflict that is likely to put a sinister end to the history of all mankind.

The hopes and the confidence of all peoples, and above all of the peace-loving forces throughout the world, today as never before rely upon the energetic and consistent struggle waged by the Soviet Union and by the entire, fraternal, socialist community for an irrevocable adherence to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, for the construction of a just and reliable international security system in strictly observing the principle of equality and equal respect for the interests of all countries, and in maintaining the lowest possible ceiling for all types of armaments.

Konstantin Chernenko, the secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, confirmed in his speeches unflinching loyalty to these humanitarian goals of the USSR's foreign policy. In being aware of its responsibility in facing the peoples as regards the preservation and consolidation of peace, the Soviet party and state leadership has once more demonstrated its adherence to the policy of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation with states on all continents, its readiness for serious and constructive negotiations based on equal rights, in the purpose of settling controversial, international problems.

Lenin's glorious country, with its realistic and constructive foreign policy, has offered considerable opportunities for a guarantee of mankind's peaceful future. This country remains loyal to its international duty, to the line of the overall consolidation of friendship, unity, and cooperation with the peoples of the fraternal socialist community -- the mainstay of the world's movement toward peace, social justice and progress.

This gives us all confidence that we will witness great, new achievements in implementing the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

CHERNENKO, WESTERN LEADERS HOLD 'IMPORTANT' TALKS

AU201505 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Feb 84 p 4

[Dimitur Gornenski article: "There Is Only One Main Question"]

[Text] Before departing for Moscow to pay last respects to the life and work of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, many state leaders of the Western states made statements expressing great hopes about the possibility to meet the most responsible representatives of the Soviet party and state leadership and discuss with them the most topical issues of the international situation. These talks took place and for days now have resulted in new statements by Western political leaders, as well as an avalanche of commentaries by observers, who are carefully following the development of world affairs.

Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, had short, but exceptionally important talks with U.S. Vice President George Bush, Italian President Sandro Pertini, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, France's Premier Pierre Mauroy, Great Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and Canada's Premier Pierre Trudeau. Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs, also had meetings with important Western statesmen.

The content of these talks has been published by the mass media. One stresses in the West the essential conclusion on the continuity of Soviet foreign policy, and the consistent striving to solve disputed questions through serious negotiations, based on confidence and understanding, as stressed by the Soviet leaders.

Perceiving the essence of what the Western leaders learned in the Kremlin these days, we cannot overlook the necessity of forecasting how it will affect the development of further dialogue on a bilateral and multilateral basis for solving the complex problems of disarmament and international security -- the most dramatic issue of the existing controversies between East and West. The Western leaders know from the speeches of Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other noted leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state, as well as from the talks they had in Moscow, that the Soviet principled position on positively solving the present critical situation in Europe and the world, remains unchanged. The USSR cannot and will not agree to the apparent U.S. and NATO striving to achieve military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact member-countries, and to use it as a means of diktat while discussing disputed issues. Nor can the USSR or any of its Warsaw Pact allies accept the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe as anything other than a dangerous violation of the strategic parity in our continent in favor of the West, and a real threat to the socialist countries' security. Only thus can one also interpret other U.S. and NATO steps aimed at intensifying their programs on qualitative and quantitative increases in the potential of nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons, and the U.S. ambition to also turn space into an arena of the arms race.

Now as before the state leaders of the Western countries are trying to ignore these especially important aspects, which distinguish the attitude of the USSR and its allies from the attitude of the United States and NATO to the causes of exacerbating international tension and the roads to overcoming it. They conceal in a rhetorical haze their attitude toward the only possible basis for negotiations, demanded by the USSR and all fraternal socialist countries, namely, strictly observing the principles of equality and equal security.

This actually is the main question of the present contradictions and by no means can it be ignored ad infinitum while positions are being clarified. Thus, one can reach the following conclusion: The USSR and its allies will actively participate in continuing the dialogue with the West, and in negotiations on solving the problems of disarmament and international security only if the United States and NATO agree to work from this important principle. Only this principle reveals real possibilities for overcoming the obstacles on the road to stopping the arms race and asserting the lowest possible ceiling of military confrontation. It reveals the way toward strengthening peace.

MLADENOV TALKS WITH FINNISH LEADERS IN HELSINKI

AU170859 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Helsinki, Feb 17 (BTA special corr) -- Yesterday the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, Mr Petur Mladenov, was received by the president of Finland, Dr Mauno Koivisto.

Mr Petur Mladenov extended an invitation on behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov to President Koivisto to visit Bulgaria at a time suitable for him. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Satisfaction was expressed in the ensuing talks with the fruitful cooperation between Bulgaria and Finland and the two countries' efforts aimed at strengthening peace and understanding in Europe and the world.

Speaking about the peace policy of his country, the leader of the Finnish state stressed the need of creating a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. He said that he was following up with interest both the internal and the external policy conducted by Bulgaria.

Mr Petur Mladenov informed Mr Mauno Koivisto of Bulgaria's economic development and of the topical tasks the country is currently solving in the sphere of foreign policy, stressing her active position on the conversion of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear weapons.

The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs visited the works of the "Nokya" company near Helsinki, where he was made familiar with the business contacts the company maintains with Bulgarian foreign trade organizations.

The ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Finland signed a Treaty for Mutual Encouragement and Protection of Investments.

After the signing of the document, Mr Paavo Vayrynen said that the treaty expressed the unfailing striving of the Governments of Finland and Bulgaria to develop the economic relations between the two countries. The new treaty supplements the already wide-ranging system of commercial and economic agreements signed by Finland and Bulgaria and testifies to the interest of the Finnish business circles in the expansion of economic cooperation with Bulgaria.

Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out that the treaty reflects the wish and the willingness of the two countries' governments to encourage forms of bilateral economic cooperation, other than the conventional trade exchanges.

The national economies of our countries are widely open for international cooperation. The prospects lying ahead of this cooperation are the more favourable the more solid is the political and economic foundation of interstate relations. In this sense we regard the signed treaty as an element of stability. The treaty is in line with the profound meaning of the Final Act of Helsinki, imbued as it is with concern and care for securing stable conditions for fruitful cooperation, he said.

Minister Petur Mladenov stressed that having in mind the already accumulated experience in the promotion of the traditional bilateral relations, it can be stated and with good reason, too, that the treaty will successfully fulfill its purpose, namely the furthering of contacts along lines of industrial cooperation and the establishment of joint societies and enterprises for joint economic activity.

With this accord, he said, Bulgaria and Finland are setting an example of fruitful combination of two economic legislative systems for the achievement of aims of mutual interest.

In a statement for the special correspondent of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, Minister Paavo Vayrynen said that the official visit of Minister Petur Mladenov to Finland will stimulate the promotion of friendly relations between the two peoples. The political relations between us are very good and such is the level at which economic relations can be raised as well.

The Finnish minister of foreign affairs said that his country and Bulgaria will continue to work for the improvement of the political climate in Europe. He expressed faith in the successful completion of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe.

Last night minister Mladenov returned to Bulgaria.

Dinner Toast

AU171958 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Feb 84 p 5

[Report on toast proposed by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, at offical dinner given in his honor on 15 February in Helsinki]

[Text] Petur Mladenov declared as follows in his toast: The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Finland are situated on opposite sides of the European Continent. Nevertheless, geographical conditions have never been a decisive prerequisite for relations among states. We are linked by a common aspiration for peace and security, by our mutual readiness to cooperate in various fields on the basis of equal rights and equal advantage. Our two countries belong to different social systems; however, this too is not an obstacle to a favorable development of relations between our two states. These relations are the spontaneous expression of a sincere wish expressed by both peoples to contribute to the construction of a peaceful and just world, to a better future for mankind.

The minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria stressed the great importance attached by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, to Bulgarian-Finnish relations and his personal contribution to the successful development of relations between our two states.

The friendly relations existing between Bulgaria and Finland create the necessary prerequisites for the implementation of intensive economic cooperation. Nevertheless, we are convinced that there are still a number of unutilized opportunities which must be used, the Bulgarian visitor pointed out. We can express our satisfaction at the presently existing state of our cultural relations and of our scientific exchange. Tourist relations are particularly useful for the mutual acquaintance of the two peoples, and they are constantly expanding.

The existence of a favorable international atmosphere is a factor of primary importance for the development of relations and cooperation among states in Europe and throughout the world.

Unfortunately, however, the course of events in recent years and the deployment of American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe have created a drastically changed situation on our continent, a situation dangerous for peace. A new round in the arms race has opened, which greatly increases the possibility of a devastating nuclear conflict. The striving of the United States and of certain NATO member-countries for military superiority and for a policy of diktat evokes considerable concern and demands reciprocal defense measures.

We are following the work of the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe with particular interest and hope, a conference to whose preparation Finland considerably contributed, the Bulgarian minister pointed out.

Bulgaria always has been in favor of a political dialogue likely to demonstrate a desire for negotiations, but also to accompany this demonstration of readiness for negotiations with a properly realistic approach and actions leading to generally acceptable solutions. Only by taking into consideration the existing political realities in Europe established as a result of World War II and by strictly observing the principles of equal rights and equal security, is it possible to achieve the necessary agreement and to avert the danger threatening our planet.

Petur Mladenov further pointed out that Finland's foreign policy is based on the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, and that his policy, with its constructive character and activities, considerably contributes to the consolidation of peace and security, to the expansion of cooperation among the European states.

Loyal to its principled and consistent foreign policy of peace and peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, the People's Republic of Bulgaria actively demonstrates its readiness for cooperation with all countries and peoples throughout the world who are selflessly interested in such cooperation. The proposal submitted by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, to adopt practical steps for converting the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone is a specific and convincing example of this irrevocable readiness by Bulgaria, Petur Mladenov stated.

In closing his toast Petur Mladenov expressed his conviction that the fruitful relations between Bulgaria and Finland will continue to develop along ascending lines, in the interest of both peoples, for the sake of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

BOZHINOV GREETS USSR SCIENCE, INDUSTRY OFFICIALS

AU171921 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Todor Bozhinov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of energy and raw material resources, today received Sergey Yefimenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and chairman of the Soviet side of the council on coordinating cooperation between the two countries in processing materials with gas counterpressure; Georgi Sergeyev, USSR deputy minister of ferrous metallurgy; and Erlen Zvizhulev, USSR deputy minister of heavy and transport machine-building. Certain issues of bilateral cooperation in implementing the method of metal casting and of (?counter) pressure were discussed. Special attention was devoted to the production and use of [word indistinct] steels in the machine-building industries of the two countries.

PRESS STRESSES CONTINUITY OF USSR POLICY

RUDE PRAVO Cites Chernenko

AU171156 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Feb 84 p 7

[Milan Jelinek Moscow dispatch in the "We Comment" column: "Unchangeable Orientation"]

[Text] In his first statement as CPSU Central Committee general secretary at the extraordinary CPSU Central Committee session, Comrade Konstantin Chernenko clearly and resolutely expounded the pivotal goals of Soviet foreign policy, and affirmed its unbreakable and unwavering continuity in endeavoring to achieve the aim regarded by the Soviet Communists and by the working people in the world as their main goal -- to avert the threat of a nuclear war and to succeed in defending and consolidating peace.

This policy was introduced to the world arena exactly by the party of Soviet Communists, and at the very moment when the society of freedom and social justice began to be built on our earth for the very first time. Today this party has carried with it into the center of the unceasing struggle millions of peoples, states, and peoples, the progressive and democratic public, all honest, honorable, and responsibly thinking representatives of the world community. Thus it was confirmed that Soviet foreign policy, which expresses the vital interests of the Soviet people, also corresponds to the longings and wishes of all peoples without exception. As Comrade K. Chernenko said from the rostrum of the CPSU Central Committee: "We resolutely declare that we will not deviate from this policy a single step."

The USSR's foreign policy follows a specific program worked out by the party's 24th, 25th, and 26th congresses. This Peace Program expresses the vital interests of the Soviet people, but also those of the peoples throughout the world. It enjoys the total support of all our people, as well as the support of people in the countries of the socialist community.

The countries of real socialism are the main fighters for progressive transformations of the world, and a prominent defender of the world's peaceful future. Their growing influence on international developments is directly connected with the fight for asserting the ideas of peaceful coexistence in international political practice. In this connection Comrade Chernenko declared: "By comprehensively developing and deepening cohesion and cooperation with the countries of the socialist community in all spheres, including such an important sphere as the economic sphere, we substantially contribute toward peace, progress, and security of the peoples."

One of the causes of the current tense international situation is the escalating attack of imperialism's forces against peoples and states that have embarked on the path of independent development. It is exactly in the areas at which the reaction's offensive is aimed that the hotbeds of war conflagrations appear -- threatening and dangerous hotbeds, because at any time they could grow into large confrontations having grave international consequences. On principle, the Soviet Union is defending the peoples' right to develop in a free and independent manner, and to build a future which they themselves decide on; at the same time it is striving to eliminate the hotbeds of tension which equally alarm all peoples. It regards this as yet another, inevitable and important, direction of the fight for maintaining a lasting peace.

In the class-divided world there is no other possibility to guarantee the preservation of life on earth than by adopting and applying the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. "Today, in the century of nuclear arms and super-precise missiles, the peoples need it more than ever," Comrade Chernenko stated. This deep conviction is the main transom of the everyday creative activity of both Soviet diplomacy and of the foreign policy pursued by other socialist countries; this conviction is also the source of the constructive and realistic peace proposals that the world of socialism is pushing through in the international arena.

Cooperation between states and peoples and the need to jointly resolve international problems both require strict adherence to the principle of equality and equal security. This is a logical and understandable prerequisite of peaceful international relations. That is also why the attempt, launched by the U.S. Government together with the militarist NATO circles to change the existing military-strategic equilibrium in the world in their own favor, is so particularly dangerous. Konstantin Chernenko said in this connection: "We do not need military supremacy, and we do not intend to dictate our will to others. But we will not permit anybody to disrupt the achieved military equilibrium."

The Soviet Union offers its hand in goodwill to all states that are willing to contribute to reducing tension and establishing an atmosphere of trust, and to do this by practical deeds, and not by verbal declarations, as is the habit with certain bourgeois representatives. The Soviet Union has declared on many occasions that there is no international dispute or problem that cannot be resolved through negotiation. But not everybody in the West realizes -- or rather, as Comrade Chernenko stated, wants to realize -- the threat created for mankind by their imprudent policy, which is both indifferent toward mankind's interests and cynical.

This is also what the Soviet representatives stated during the bilateral talks with the NATO countries' representatives in Moscow. If the West, too, will follow such principles of international relations as the principle of equality and equal security, as the principle of mutual respect for the legitimate interests of others, and the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of others, and if not only the Soviet Union and its allies but also the countries of the North Atlantic pact will strive to improve the international situation, then this will open the path for resolving even the most serious and most complicated problems of contemporary international life.

CPSU To Continue 'Lenin's Path'

AU171312 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Feb 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Further Unshakeably Along Lenin's Path"]

[Text] Soviet people, our working people, the peoples of the fraternal socialist country, and all progressive mankind have in deep reverence paid respect to the undying memory of the great statesman Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. The parting with this outstanding son of the Soviet people and Lenin's party, loyal Leninist and internationalist, and ardent fighter for peace and communism has at the same time become an expression of the firm determination to consistently and unshakeably continue his work, which -- owing to the short period of his activity in the highest functions of the Communist Party and the Soviet state -- he was unable to fully develop and complete.

In connection with the passing away of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, all kinds of unpropitious conjectures and naive and wishful thoughts have appeared in the Western bourgeois press about some sort of changes in the policy of the new leadership, especially in the foreign political positions of the USSR.

In his farewell speech for Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, however, Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, elected as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the 13 February extraordinary session of the party Central Committee, unequivocally declared: "We firmly assure the Soviet people and our friends abroad that the CPSU will continue to unshakeably follow Lenin's path."

This assurance is an expression of the unchanging and unshakeable line of the Soviet leadership, and expression of continuity of the CPSU's and the Soviet state's domestic and foreign policy.

Lenin's path -- that is, the CPSU's strategic line aimed at building communism and, in the present stage, its line aimed at improving advanced socialism, in which the interests of the working people are the first and overriding concern, in the spirit of the slogan "Everything in the name of man and for his well-being." It is solidarity with the struggle of nations for freedom, independence, and social progress; it is the search for peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and for lasting peace in the world; it is the party's program as creatively developed and elaborated by party congresses.

Even in the short period of time in which Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov stood at the head of the CPSU Central Committee, the country made a significant step forward in implementing resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and in creatively developing and enriching them. The party ensured convincing progress in all fundamental directions of economic, social, and cultural development. It was precisely on raising the efficiency of production and its intensification; improving national economic management; enhancing party, state, and work discipline; and on increasing the working people's responsibility and developing their creative activity that the party and the people were concentrating their endeavor. Nevertheless, despite obvious successes, the party does not conceal shortcomings and deficiencies in some sectors of the national economy.

In his programmatic speech at the extraordinary session of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Chernenko stressed that the party had accurately defined the main directions of the Soviet economy's development. Intensification, accelerated application of scientific and technical findings in production, and implementation of wide-ranging comprehensive programs -- all this must raise the production forces of Soviet society to a qualitatively new level. In this connection, he also spoke about improving production relations -- about a thorough rebuilding of the national economic system of management and the entire economic mechanism, about the need to improve economic structures and effect profound qualitative changes in production, and about the need to ensure an increasingly closer linkage between the economic, social, and cultural progress of Soviet society. These changes are embodied in the extensive economic experiment concerning the expansion of the rights and accountability of enterprises, in the new economic forms and methods in the sphere of services, and in other measures designed to solve the strategically important problem of making the entire national economy more efficient. The new quinquennium, in particular, will become the beginning of profound qualitative changes in production; it will be the quinquennium of a decisive turnabout in the intensification of all branches of the economy. As regards the subjective factor involved in the development of the economy, the party expects of economic cadres of all levels manifestations of greater independence and a more courageous approach and, should the need arise, as Comrade Chernenko noted, also legitimate risks in the interest of raising economic efficiency and living standards; the overcoming of passivity and inertia in an effort to work in new ways; support for people's initiative as an inexhaustible source of progress; greater material and moral incentives for innovations; tightened organization, order, discipline, responsibility, and socialist legality; further improvement in the standard of the party and state management of the economy; more intensive bonds with the masses; improvement in the work of the state apparatus and in the style of party work; and repayment of the credit which every functionary entrusted with a responsible post received from the comrades.

"The most important thing now is to consolidate and multiply the positive changes in all spheres of life of society on the basis of the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee sessions," said Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressing that particularly important is to place emphasis on concrete deeds and to seek real and tangible results. As these days of bidding farewell to Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov have confirmed, this orientation enjoys the full support of the working people, strengthens unity between the party and the people, and deepens confidence in the party and its collective leadership, represented by its leading nucleus, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The Soviet people are voicing their unanimous approval of the CPSU's Leninist policy of peace, which they support with their work and work results in the awareness that this policy safeguards their life in peace. As Comrade Chernenko said at the extraordinary session of the CPSU Central Committee, the Leninist policy of peace, whose main features in the present historical stage were formulated by the latest congresses of the CPSU, is commensurate not only with the innermost interests of the Soviet people but also with the interests of other nations of the world. "We resolutely declare that we will not deviate from this policy by a single step," the new general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed in his programmatic speech. He voiced this assurance also from the tribune of the Lenin Mausoleum and, together with other leading party and state representatives, expressed himself in a similar way during meetings with the leading political figures of several countries who came to Moscow. It is a policy of lasting and just peace for all nations, big and small alike, a policy aimed at ridding mankind of the threat of a world nuclear war, a policy of solidarity with nations that have thrown off the yoke of colonial dependence and embarked on the path of independent development, and a policy of loyalty to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

In the present extremely tense international situation, in particular, the Soviet Union as a socialist great power realizes its responsibility vis-a-vis nations for preserving and strengthening peace. Comrade Chernenko once again stressed the USSR's readiness, expressed many times before, to establish peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation with states of all continents, to peacefully solve all disputed international problems by way of serious and constructive talks on an equal footing, and to conduct honest negotiations on the basis of equality and equal security. "We do not need military supremacy and do not intend to dictate our will to others," Comrade Chernenko declared. "However, we will not allow anyone to upset the existing military equilibrium."

No, no threats will intimidate the Soviet Union, with which it is impossible to conduct a dialogue "from a position of strength." The USSR is in favor of extensive cooperation with all those who want to contribute to lessening international tension and to establishing an atmosphere of trust in the world, with all those who seek the strengthening of the foundations of peace and not war preparations.

An important prerequisite of preserving peace is a further reinforcement of the potential of the socialist community and the positions of world socialism. That is why an extraordinarily important task at present is to further enhance the influence of the socialist countries on the events of international life and to strengthen their unity and cohesion and their coordinated course of action and joint procedure in dealing with the vitally important issues of the present world. This joint position was confirmed by the meeting of the Soviet leadership with leading representatives of the fraternal countries in Moscow and our party, too, shares this view.

In his telegram congratulating Comrade Chernenko on his election as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, expressed appreciation for the fact that the fruitful development of the firm ties of friendship, all-round cooperation, and alliance between our fraternal parties, our socialist states, and the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union is closely linked with his activity as a true and sincere friend of Czechoslovakia. He voiced the assurance that Czechoslovak Communists and all Czechoslovak people will continue to march in firm unity, alongside the CPSU and the Soviet Union, in the struggle for socialism, peace, and progress.

USSR Line 'Continues Unchanged'

AU171446 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA and SMENA in Slovak on 16 February carry articles stressing the continuity of Soviet policies under new Soviet party leader Chernenko.

PRAVDA carries on page 7 an 800-word Bedrich Zagar article in the "Word on Events" column, entitled "Unchangeable Orientation." He notes that the presence of leaders at Andropov's funeral "could not but be utilized for meetings, or at least for brief negotiations with the Soviet representatives, already with the new CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Konstantin Chernenko, at their head." Zagar points out that meetings with the NATO states' officials "were of particular significance," since they enabled these officials "to hear personally from Konstantin Chernenko, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, and from other Soviet representatives that the Soviet Union will continue the policy of a lasting and just peace for all nations, small and large."

After quoting Andropov on the need for a businesslike and constructive dialogue, Zagar continues: "And now, too, the representatives of NATO countries heard from Comrade Konstantin Chernenko that the Soviet Union is prepared for honorable negotiations, on the basis of equality and equal security. During his meeting with U.S. Vice President Bush, Konstantin Chernenko particularly stressed that Soviet-American relations must be built on the basis of mutual respect for legitimate interests and of noninterference in internal affairs. Had Washington recognized these principles in the past, the Soviet-American dialogue could have reached a much more progressive state." "In practice," Zagar continues, "this means that the United States should not claim the right to military supremacy over the Soviet Union, and to threaten its security from positions of strength; in the same way the United States should not voice political conditions. What are all Washington's verbal appeals for a dialogue and a rapprochement worth, if it proceeds in a completely opposite manner in practice?

"The USSR's line, aimed at halting feverish armament and at limiting it, continues unchanged. But the endeavor of the Soviet Union alone is not enough to achieve this goal," Zagar points out.

Of the U.S. missile deployment in Europe, Zagar says that FRG and British representatives were told in Moscow that the USSR and its allies could not but adopt countermeasures; however, Zagar adds, "during his negotiations with Italian President Pertini, Konstantin Chernenko stated that the deployment of U.S. missiles in certain NATO countries has seriously complicated the situation; nevertheless, the Soviet Union does not regard this situation as unchangeable. The Soviet Union's proposals on reducing the strengths of nuclear arms in Europe are known, and continue to be valid.

"True, if one is to proceed from these proposals, which really respect the interests of both sides, one must return to the period when the proposals were submitted. This means a return to the situation without new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear weapons, a situation when a balance of forces existed that was recognized by both sides."

Zagar concludes by citing the appeals that have just "resounded from the Red Square rostrum" to renounce the militarist policy and to replace it by one of cooperation; and states that this "was discussed in greater detail in the bilateral negotiations in the Kremlin's chambers. The Soviet Union's orientation toward peace and cooperation with all countries of the world, even those with a different social system, is unchangeable [nemenny]. There is no reason why the Western countries should not believe this -- and, moreover, why they should not manifest an identical approach to the matter."

SMENA carries on page 2 a 630-word article by Marian Babic, entitled "The Unchangeable Nature of the Peace Line; Reflecting on the Latest Statements of Soviet Representatives on International Issues." Babic begins by saying that the statements at Andropov's funeral and the meetings between top USSR officials and the heads of foreign delegations at the funeral have "again pointed out with full urgency the complicated nature of the current international situation, due to the escalating militarist preparations of imperialism with the United States at the head; they simultaneously underscored the unchangeable nature of the CPSU's and the Soviet state's peace line."

Babic goes on to say that the Soviet foreign policy line "is not subject to fluctuations, either time-serving ones or in consequence of changes in the highest places, as is usual in the West." This, Babic adds, is due to the fact that the USSR follows Lenin's peace principles. After citing Gromyko's funeral speech, Babic says: "In his very first statement as the CPSU Central Committee's new general secretary, Konstantin Chernenko resolutely declared at the extraordinary session of the CPSU Central Committee that the Soviet Union would not deviate from this policy a single step. And one day later, at Yuriy Andropov's funeral, he reaffirmed this by saying: 'In the present tense international situation we unambiguously declare: The Soviet Union will continue the policy of peace, the policy of a lasting and just peace for all nations, large and small.'

"In this connection it will undoubtedly be most important to halt the current dangerous development of a further escalation of nuclear armament, particularly as regards Europe," Babic continues; "Konstantin Chernenko and also other Soviet representatives repeatedly affirmed during negotiations with the heads of the NATO states' delegations, represented at a high level at Yuriy Andropov's funeral, that the Soviet Union's policy will continue to be oriented toward averting a nuclear war, toward consolidating peace, and toward developing cooperation based on equal rights between all countries and nations.

"True, for the current international situation to improve, not only the Soviet Union and the other socialist states must strive to achieve this, but also the NATO countries. Only thus can one change the current complicated situation," Babic points out.

After stating that a return to the situation prior to U.S. missile deployment would enable a resumption of Geneva talks, "the concrete result of which would undoubtedly significantly stimulate the further development of bilateral relations between the USSR and the NATO member countries engaged in the deployment," Babic concludes by saying that the USSR "will do everything necessary to ensure the interests of its own security and that of its allies and friends"; that the USSR has sufficient means to resist imperialism's diktat and its pressure attempts; and that it is fully supported by the socialist states, by the communist and workers parties, by the nonaligned states, and peace fighters.

MALTESE PRESIDENT BARBARA ARRIVES 20 FEBRUARY

LD201022 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0908 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 20 Feb (ADN) -- Mrs Agatha Barbara, president of the Republic of Malta, arrived on a visit to the GDR on Monday morning. She was invited by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. Agatha Barbara was cordially welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by the deputy chairman of the Council of State, Professor Heinrich Homann, and other public figures.

Honecker Receives Barbara

LD202049 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1705 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 20 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, this afternoon received President of the Republic of Malta Mrs Agatha Barbara in the State Council offices. Their detailed exchange of views centered on international questions as well as on the development of bilateral relations.

Both sides in the talks expressed their serious concern over the escalation of the international situation. They emphasized that everything has to be done to prevent a nuclear inferno, which would destroy mankind, and to secure a lasting peace.

Erich Honecker and Agatha Barbara reaffirmed the resolution of their countries to use the capabilities at their disposal to stop the arms spiral and thus to smooth the path for detente once again. Political will, circumspection, and realism are necessary requirements to lead international relations into healthy channels and to make them politically predictable again.

During the exchange of views, Erich Honecker explained the GDR's peace policy. He said that the proposals contained in the Prague Political Declaration and in the joint declaration by the highest representatives of the socialist states in Moscow provides a good basis for agreements which would secure peace. Currently, the conclusion of a treaty between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO on the mutual nonuse of force and on the preservation of peaceful relations would be exceptionally valuable. Thereby an effective contribution to reducing mistrust and to more stability can be rapidly made and the door can be opened for future steps on the path to arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security.

Erich Honecker expressed the admiration of the GDR for Malta's role as a neutral and nonaligned state. He praised Malta's active work to remove NATO bases from its territory, to secure its independence, and to strengthen security and stability in the Mediterranean area. The GDR decisively supports the transformation of the Mediterranean area from a zone of military confrontation into an area of lasting peace and cooperation.

Mrs Agatha Barbara explained the policies of her country on the basic questions of international developments. She explained Malta's position on the limitation of the arms race, reduction of military confrontation, and improvement of the international situation. She especially stressed the question of securing peace and the developing cooperation in the Mediterranean area.

During the exchange of views, Erich Honecker and Agatha Barbara discussed possibilities for shaping bilateral relations. Erich Honecker stressed the GDR's readiness to develop these relations constructively and for mutual benefit.

The president of Malta invited the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State to pay an official visit to Malta. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

The talks, which took place in an open and frank atmosphere, were attended by representatives of both states, including Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of Ministers, state secretary, and first deputy minister of foreign trade; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the Council of State, and Kurt Nier, deputy GDR foreign minister.

President Agatha Barbara then signed the visitors' book of the chairman of the Council of State.

Dinner in Berlin

LD202341 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1915 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 20 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, gave a dinner on Monday evening in honor of his guest, Mrs Agatha Barbara, president of the Republic of Malta. During the dinner in the Palais Unter den Linden, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, Erich Honecker described President Agatha Barbara's visit to the GDR as very useful. It has become clear that both states are pursuing the same objectives: to preserve the peace of mankind. The visit has given an impetus to intensifying the development of bilateral relations and the friendship between the GDR and the Republic of Malta.

President Agatha Barbara expressed warm thanks for the hospitality received. Both governments are linked by the quest for detente, disarmament, and peace, she said. The result of her visit to the GDR to date adds up to a new impetus on a solid base for bilateral relations.

AXEN HOLDS TALKS WITH DANISH CP OFFICIAL

LD171522 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1259 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 17 Feb (ADN) -- In view of the dangerous aggravation of the international situation resulting from the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in West Europe, greater effort must now be made by all forces interested in peace in order to halt the arms race and to clear the way for arms control, disarmament, and detente. This was said in Berlin today by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Ib Norlund, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Danish Communist Party.

They reaffirmed that the proposals made by the socialist states, especially concerning restoration of the situation as it was before missile deployment, is a constructive basis for this. High demands are made on the communist and workers' parties and on their cooperation with socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions, and other mass organizations in the broad popular movement for peace and disarmament.

In the talk, which was held in a spirit of fraternal solidarity, questions of cooperation were also discussed.

AXEN, SIEBER WELCOME PCF'S MARCHAIS ON ARRIVAL

LD181310 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1224 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 18 Feb (ADN) -- At the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party [PCF], arrived in the GDR on Saturday for a recreational visit.

He is accompanied by Gaston Plissonnier, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee, and Georges Seguy, member of the PCF Central Committee. On their arrival at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport, the French guests were cordially welcomed by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Guenter Sieber, member of the Central Committee and chief of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee.

PRC DELEGATION HOLDS COOPERATION TALKS 17 FEB

LD190951 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1256 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 17 Feb (ADN) -- Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and GDR minister for science and technology, received a delegation from the People's Republic of China in Berlin today for talks on further expanding cooperation between the two countries in the field of management and planning of scientific-technical progress. The delegation is headed by Xie Shaoming, bureau head in the State Scientific and Technological Commission. The ambassador of the People's Republic of China, Li Qiangfen, also took part in the meeting. The Chinese delegation includes leading members of the management group for science and technology of the Council of Ministers, the Planning Commission, the Committee for Reforms of the Economic Systems, and the Ministry of Finance.

During its 2-week stay in the GDR, it learned in detail of the GDR's experiences in the management and planning of science and technology. Their interest focused on the effectiveness of scientific-technological progress as a decisive factor in the intensification of production, the linking of science and production, and the management of research and technology in state-owned combines and in the stimulation of high levels of creative performance. The PRC delegation held talks at the Ministry of Science and Technology, the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education, the GDR Academy of Sciences, the Office of Standardization, the Office for Inventions and Patents, and at academic institutions. It also visited the Elektroapparate-Werke 'Friedrich Ebert' combine in Berlin-Treptow.

REINHOLD, MILITARY DELEGATION ARRIVE IN DELHI

LD211031 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1003 GMT 21 Feb 84

[Text] Delhi, 21 Feb (ADN) -- A delegation from the National People's Army led by General Wolfgang Reinhold, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the GDR Air Force and Air Defense Command, arrived in Delhi today on a friendship visit to India. The delegation was invited by Air Marshal Dilbagh Singh, chief of the Indian Air Staff, who cordially welcomed General Reinhold and his military entourage.

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH ITALIAN FIRMS -- Rome, 19 Feb (ADN) -- A long-term agreement and several protocols designed to expand trade and deepen scientific-technological cooperation have been signed between GDR and Italian firms. To this end, Dr Horst Weihs, GDR deputy minister of the chemical industry, conducted negotiations in Rome and Milan 15-18 February with the national hydrocarbons agency and the Montedison and SNIA-BPD chemical concerns. The talks dealt with the further development of bilateral economic relations in the area of chemical products and chemical plants. Talks with leading representatives of the Italian Foreign Trade Ministry and the Ministry for State Participation in Industry also took place. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1016 GMT 19 Feb 84 LD]

CHERNENKO TALKS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS REVIEWED

LD171842 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI) -- MTI's commentator Csaba Kis writes: The talks Konstantin Chernenko, new general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other Soviet leaders held with foreign delegation heads who came to Moscow to attend Yuriy Andropov's funeral rightly attracted much interest since they were a fresh evidence that the leadership of the Soviet Union seizes every opportunity to build contacts in a difficult international situation.

The general secretary of the CPSU CC and heads of delegations of the Warsaw Treaty member states reviewed common aims, but obviously it will take other forums to discuss topical questions of political and economic cooperation in detail and soon. However, the brief meetings in Moscow were sufficient for CPSU leaders and their closest friends and comrades to review again the programme of cooperation and to confirm what Chernenko stressed also at the special CC session, that the Soviet Union continues to promote the expansion of comradely and friendly cooperation with the fraternal countries.

Konstantin Chernenko stressed at meetings with politicians of leading capitalist countrie that the Soviet leadership is prepared to do its utmost in order to reduce tension and continue talks promoting peace but it cannot do so unilaterally as it needs practical evidence of the much-proclaimed readiness and goodwill of the other party to renew the process. At the same time Chernenko again emphasized the Soviet Union's fundamental position on talks: that equal partners should sit down to talk and neither should expect unilateral advantages. However brief these discussions were, every Western politician must have understood that the Soviet Union clearly stood by the policy of peaceful negotiations and it considered talks the only possible way of settling international problems.

'Continuity' of CPSU Policy

LD182228 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 18 Feb 84

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] Now we continue the "168 Hours" program with foreign politics. This week the world's attention was turned toward Moscow. Following Yuriy Andropov's funeral and the election of the new general secretary, in the wake of the Moscow diplomatic meetings, Gyorgy Bolgar asked our special correspondent Istvan Kulcsar, who has now returned home, to give an explanation of the situation.

[Begin recording] [Bolgar] At the start of the week the CPSU Central Committee elected a general secretary of whom it may be said that he represents continuity in Soviet politics. In fact the election was quite predictable, as the 73-year-old Chernenko has worked in leading positions in the last decade. I say it was predictable despite the fact that the world press in the preceding days was full of various guesses. Still, his person represents a kind of continuity.

[Kulcsar] Definitely. And I would speak not so much about the person as about the policy of the Central Committee. If we read the speech Chernenko delivered to the plenum, we see he emphasized the issues that, in recent years, found emphasis in a variety of party documents, in Andropov's speeches, and in Andropov's contribution in his letter to the December plenum of the party Central Committee. This applies to both domestic and foreign policies.

In fact, as you have said, Chernenko was a close colleague of the former leaders, Brezhnev and Andropov, so it follows understandably that he took part in following that policy, in its elaboration, and understandably the party and the Central Committee will continue to follow this policy.

[Bolgar] But perhaps it is worth drawing attention here to another interesting formulation, that the line begun with Andropov's leadership has to be continued and advanced with a collective effort. How is this to be understood?

[Kulcsar] Well, I do not want to talk in paradoxes, but these collective efforts have their own continuity, too, inasmuch as this is not a new idea. One found exactly the same thing in previous party documents, previous speeches: the same issues as are stressed now, such as strengthening work discipline, the need for quality, the determination of economic direction, the demarcation of the work of the party and the economic organs to have everyone work in his own field. These are not new ideas; the same things could be seen any time in the last year and a half.

[Bolgar] Then let us remain a little longer with the economy. I definitely see it as a key phrase that the whole system of economic direction must be seriously reformed, said Chernenko -- the entire economic mechanism, and they are still only at the start of this work.

[Kulcsar] It is a big country; a great deal of time is needed for this to be carried out along the whole line. Experimentation is needed to find what is appropriate to their conditions. This has begun as an experiment in some ministries or some republics. Afterwards they will examine the results, and based on that assessment, the results will be generalized. Even if they make great haste, it will require a great deal of time.

[Bolgar] Then let us go on to foreign policy. There, too, we see important phrases alongside the many other important phrases -- for example, that the Soviet Union takes a stand for solving every disputed international problem peacefully, with serious, constructive discussions based on equal rights. We read this in Andropov's latest, or last, statement; thus the wish of the Soviet leadership to continue this policy is reflected.

[Kulcsar] That is the point. Here one can really demonstrate the continuity of Soviet foreign policy, because this endeavor, formulated in exactly the same way, could be found 25 years ago in the speeches of the Soviet leaders. Its significance is, at most, that it has been repeated now and at this moment.

[Bolgar] And its significance, too, is that it has been practiced with the huge number of foreign leaders who arrived for Andropov's funeral.

[Kulcsar] Here I could draw a comparison with a year and a quarter ago, when foreign statesmen came to Moscow for Brezhnev's funeral. This perhaps had less significance, or I should say, rather, today this gesture has more significance for it takes place in a worse international atmosphere and thus serves as an indication that the Western leaders, too, do not want to go beyond a certain point, according to the signs and the Western Europeans, at least, are seeking a way to improve the international atmosphere.

[Bolgar] In any event, it was interesting to see that in their statements after the meetings both Bush and Mrs Thatcher spoke very confidently about what they had heard and what intention they found on the part of the Soviet leadership.

However, in the Soviet statement issued on the meetings one was able to read that the Soviet Union made it clear to the Western leaders how harmful it considers the West European missile deployments and that it is of the view that this is largely the cause of a deterioration in the international atmosphere. In fact, it is worth drawing attention to a trifling matter here -- namely, that the expression of Soviet opinion was not the same in every direction.

[Kulcsar] Without question it was not. Thus, they spoke quite differently, let us say, with Kohl, since the Pershing II missiles are being deployed by the Americans on the territory of his country; and they spoke differently to Mauroy, the French prime minister, where the only thing that was not heard was the expression about a special Franco-Soviet relationship, which used to be current at one time, but, friendly relations, satisfaction -- these phrases were used. So it was quite different; the Soviet Union made a distinction between them.

As for the question of how far the Western side saw favorable portents in what they heard the Soviet leaders say, it is very heartening that this is what they want to hear, but I still do not exclude the possibility that behind this there is a certain degree of strategy. Obviously, during such a visit there are expressions of sympathy, and these are followed by expressions of thanks, and neither side is trying to aggravate the discussions or the relations between the two countries. Still, it is quite clear that on the basic issues -- I am thinking about the missile deployment -- the standpoints have not changed on either side. Therefore, if the Western side is trying to show the Soviet stand to be as favorable as all this, the question arises: Does this not conceal the customary diplomatic trick of raising excessive hopes and then, if there is no fundamental improvement in the international atmosphere, saying: Well, look, it is the Soviet Union's fault -- thus causing disappointment? [end recording]

LAZAR RECEIVES ROMANIAN PLANNING OFFICIAL

LD171742 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar has received the chairman of the Romanian State Planning Office. Stefan Birlea arrived in Budapest yesterday to confer on Hungarian-Romanian economic cooperation with Lajos Faluvegi, deputy prime minister and chairman of the National Planning Office.

Faluvegi, Romanian Confer

LD190010 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 18 (MTI) -- Hungarian Deputy Premier Lajos Faluvegi, president of the National Planning Office, and Stefan Birlea, president of the State Planning Commission of the Romanian Socialist Republic, reviewed the state of bilateral economic relations and established that cooperation developed basically in accordance with the jointly determined objectives. The parties exchanged information on the main economic policy objectives of their countries and determined aims of expanding cooperation.

Lajos Faluvegi and Stefan Birlea discussed the 1986-1990 development possibilities of production cooperation and specialization and agreed that both sides should step up the activity of ministries and companies concerned to promote such cooperation. Possibility for the expansion of cooperation was seen in road vehicle and farm machine buildings, pharmaceutical, plant protective and intermediate production and robot technology, therefore an examination of the possibility of long-term agreement in these areas was proposed.

The work programme and schedule of planned economic cooperation in the years 1986 to 1990 were approved during the talks and it was agreed that representatives of the two countries' central planning organizations would coordinate plans with a view to better utilization of production capacities and fuller satisfaction of demands.

Stefan Birlea met Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and left Budapest on Saturday.

TALKS HELD WITH VISITING PFLP DELEGATION

LD171906 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI) -- A delegation of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine including Salih Salih, member of the Political Committee, and Salih Mubarak, member of the Central Committee, visited Hungary from February 12 to 17 on the invitation of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee (HSC).

The delegation held talks with HSC president Sandor Harmati, and Secretary Gyula Suto on the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples and the fight of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

The delegation met Laszlo Kovacs, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the HSWP CC, Istvan Darvasi, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, Mrs Sebestyev, president of the National Peace Council, Zoltan Szephelyi, head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, members of the HSC's Middle Eastern Action Committee, and Arab students in Hungary.

Salih Salih briefed his partners on the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East, and discussed the efforts to restore the unity of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Hungarian partners reiterated the solidarity of the Hungarian people with the Arab peoples fighting against imperialism, and with the Syrian Arab Republic and the Palestinian people fighting for the establishment of a state under the leadership of its sole legitimate representative, the PLO. The meeting emphasized the necessity of the unity of progressive Arab forces against the Camp David agreements and the support of the Hungarian people for the restoration of unity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon.

Salih Salih expressed his appreciation of the solidarity of the Hungarian people.

The delegation left Hungary Friday. Present at the farewell ceremony was 'Atif Abu Bakr, head of the Budapest representation office of the PLO.

ANNIVERSARY OF FRIENDSHIP AGREEMENT WITH USSR

Amity Group Marks Occasion

LD171846 Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 17 (MTI) -- The Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society held a meeting in Moscow Friday on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the Soviet-Hungarian Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Agreement.

Contributors stressed that the agreement put Hungarian-Soviet relations on a firm basis, promoted the construction of socialism in Hungary and strengthened the country's international position. The participants saw a photo exhibition on the main areas and events of bilateral cooperation, which included the visit to Moscow of the Hungarian party and state delegation headed by Janos Kadar last summer, and the meetings of Hungarian delegations with Soviet leaders.

'Festive Commemoration'

LD172139 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed 36 years ago in Moscow was the foundation, if not the start, of Hungarian-Soviet relations. On this occasion, a festive commemoration was held this afternoon in Szolnok, in the Culture House of the Tiszamenti chemical works. Seated in the presidium were Antal Apro, chairman of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society [MSZBT], Istvan Roska, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Vladimir Bazovskiy, the Soviet Union's ambassador to Hungary. As Sandor Gyorgy, secretary of the MSZBT, emphasized in his festive speech, the system of relations developed on the basis of the cooperation and friendship treaty is many-sided. He especially emphasized: In the future the two countries should continue to work on further strengthening our relations which embrace every sphere of life.

ENTERPRISE LEADERS' 'ANTIREFORM' ATTITUDE DENIED

LD181229 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 18 Feb 84

[From the press review]

[Text] NEPSZABADSAG carries a disputatious article from the pen of Istvan Foldes. He disputes one of the writings of the author Andras Hegedues [presumably former Hungarian premier and party Politburo member, expelled from the party in 1973 for anti-Marxist views], which was published in the January KOEZDASAGI SZEMLE, dealing with large enterprises.

Hegedues states, among other things, that for structural reasons the majority of the leaders of large enterprises are antireform and, as a consequence of their interests, hinder the attainment of the present economic policy goals while having at their disposal substantial, unsupervised personal power and sums of money. Hegedues also accused branch ministries and various party organizations of being lobbyists for the interests of large enterprises.

Istvan Foldes says false accusations are dangerous if they contain certain elements of truth, as is the case with Hegedues' article. In Hungary there were reasons for the economic reform coming to a standstill after 1973, and these were related to the attitude of the leaders adhering to the old style of direction. It also is true that some economic direction measures can encourage the opponents of the reform. At the same time, generalizations such as that of Hegedues are false, and these theses only permitted the author finally to state: The ripening and increasingly threatening economic and political crisis has only been postponed, not averted. Istvan Foldes emphasizes that the author's not only pessimistic but also wrong opinion cannot be accepted. This is affirmed by the so-called half-time stance of the Central Committee, which considers the perfection and further development of the system of economic direction to be necessary. The party does not permit itself to be led astray from this path, either by the opponents of the reform or by overbidders acting in the (?gown) of patrons of the reform.

DE CUELLAR BEGINS VISIT 18 FEB, MEETS LEADERS

Interviewed by PAP

LD181221 Warsaw PAP in English 1112 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] New York 17 Feb -- U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar granted an interview to the correspondent of the Polish press agency PAP in New York, Ludwik Arendt, in connection with Mr. de Cuellar's visit to Poland, starting tomorrow, Feb. 18:

Question: This, Mr Secretary General, will not be your first visit to Poland. How do you recall your stay in Poland as the ambassador to Peru in 1969-71.
Answer: I recall with great pleasure my first acquaintance with your country from those years. My official residence was in Moscow, as I was ambassador to the Soviet Union, but I made many visits to Poland during the course of my accreditation, as my country had a full mission in Warsaw. I have not only very pleasant memories of my various visits to your capital, but also of the excellent co-operation from the Polish authorities in our working relationship.

Q.: The arms race and the general world political situation is having its unfavourable impact on the world economy and on economic relations. Poland has submitted a resolution on this point. What is your opinion on this issue?
A.: It is my firm belief that the paramount challenge facing humanity is the need to put a halt to the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race. It is inexcusable that we should continue to expend so much of our ingenuity and our finite resources on these weapons of destruction, while at the same time we are confronted by vast growing problems of poverty, deprivation and underdevelopment. I am acutely conscious of the link between disarmament and development, which has been increasingly emphasized by the United Nations, and I welcome all initiatives aimed at promoting these objectives.

Q.: Poland is a founding member of the United Nations. During the last two years Poland was a member of the Security Council. What is your opinion about its activities?
A.: Your country, which was a founding member of the United Nations, has extended firm support to the organization's endeavors for peace, justice and international co-operation. As a member of the Security Council, Poland has recently been intimately involved in the organization's search to prevent conflicts and find peaceful solutions to disputes. Your country's contribution to this end, and its continuing participation in United Nations peacekeeping activities, has been greatly appreciated.

Q.: What do you expect [words indistinct] Poland?
A.: Firstly, I look forward, [words indistinct] to rebuild my acquaintance with your country and people, whom I first grew to know fifteen years ago. I also expect to have very useful and extensive discussions with your country's leaders on all issues of concern to Poland and to the United Nations.

Arrives in Warsaw

LD181618 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Warsaw 18 Feb -- The United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar flew into Warsaw at 2.10 p.m. today for a visit on the invitation from the Polish authorities. The secretary general was welcomed at the airport by Polish Government representatives led by Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski.

Begins Talks With Olszowski

LD181758 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb -- Talks opened here today between the visiting United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and the Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski. After the talks the United Nations secretary general along with his wife and entourage left Warsaw for Krakow. He is accompanied on the trip by Minister Stefan Olszowski.

Honored in Krakow

LD200024 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Feb 84

[Text] The ceremony of awarding UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa of the Jagiellonian University has taken place at the university's Collegium Maius. The rector of the Krakow university, Professor Jozef Gierowski, stressed during the ceremony that the award of the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa is the expression of highest respect not only for the great academic achievements of Professor Javier Perez de Cuellar but for his contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and friendship among nations and striving for the rights of every nation and every person. In the evening the UN secretary-general, who was accompanied by Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski during his entire stay in Krakow, set off on the return journey to Warsaw.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD201919 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski has received Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations, who is paying an official visit to Poland. They had a lengthy conversation. The current international situation was assessed, together with the threats to international peace and security resulting from the serious exacerbation of that situation. In this context, the interlocutors pointed out the role that could and ought to be played by the United Nations with the aim of improving the general political atmosphere in the world, reducing armaments, eliminating economic restrictions, and developing cooperation between states on the basis of equal rights. A great deal was devoted to the fruitful cooperation between Poland and the United Nations. The UN secretary general expressed his high esteem for the Polish military contingent serving with the UN emergency forces in the Middle East. The chairman of the Council of Ministers briefed the UN secretary general at length on the conditions for Poland's emergence from the crisis and on the progress of normalization in sociopolitical life.

Meets Olszowski, Jablonski

LD201556 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Henryk Jablonski, the chairman of the Council of State has received at Belweder Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the UN, who is paying an official visit to our country. Earlier, a meeting was held between Wojciech Jaruzelski and the UN secretary general. Also today, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, plenary talks were held, chaired by Stefan Olszowski and Javier Perez de Cuellar.

While assessing the international situation, the issue of the great threat posed by NATO's deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe was touched upon. There was an exchange of views on the need to undertake energetic steps to eliminate existing trouble spots in the world and on just solutions for tensions and conflicts in the Middle East and Central America, among other areas.

The necessity of dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States was stressed, together with the considerable role that the United Nations and its bodies could play in this matter. The cooperation between Poland and the UN in the fields of politics, economy, and in the social sphere, were also discussed.

More on Meeting With Jablonski

LD201929 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Today, the 3d day of his visit of our country, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar had a meeting with Chairman of the State Council Henryk Jablonski. In the course of the conversation, views were exchanged on the current international situation; the role of the United Nations in the contemporary world, and Poland's cooperation with that organization.

Henryk Jablonski received Javier Perez de Cuellar at a lunch at which General Wojciech Jaruzelski was present. During lunch, the host and guest exchanged toasts. Speaking about the great responsibility resting on statesmen and politicians -- for whom the priority task should be to search for ways and means to strengthen peace and security and to develop international cooperation -- Henryk Jablonski stressed the courageous and realistic stance of the secretary general, which is aimed at alerting governments and public opinion to the growing threats to peace. The chairman of the State Council stressed Poland's firm desire to strengthen international peace and security, and recalled Poland's peace initiatives. He also expressed the hope that joint action by the forces of common sense, realism, and progress will be crowned with success.

Javier Perez de Cuellar, referring to the speech by Henryk Jablonski at the last session of the UN General Assembly, said that the depth of the patriotic feelings of its people is a great asset to Poland. These feelings result from the sufferings that the country has gone through over the centuries.

Next, outlining the international situation, the UN secretary general stated that certain signs have recently appeared, and confrontation is in no one's interest. It is, however, essential, he stressed, that UN members show their determination (?to maintian) the system of collective security (?because) it is the best guarantee of peace.

FORMER UN WORKER RELEASED FROM CUSTODY

NC201932 Paris AFP in English 1913 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 20 (AFP) -- Alicia Wesolowska, a former Polish employee of the United Nations in New York jailed here for espionage in 1980, has been released, a well-informed source said here today.

The report came shortly after U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who is on an official visit to Poland, hinted to journalists here that he was optimistic that Mrs Wesolowska would be released.

CARDINAL GLEMP STARTS TOUR OF BRAZIL, ARGENTINA

LD200018 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Feb 84

[Text] Primate of Poland Cardinal Jozef Glemp arrived in Brazil today, where he was greeted by representatives of the local Church hierarchy and by Polish Ambassador Janusz Mickiewicz. The visit to Brazil inaugurates a 20-day journey [as heard] by Cardinal Glemp to Latin America. He will be visiting Polonia communities in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Parana, and Rio Grande do Sul. He will also stay in Sao Paulo, Sao Salvador, and the country's capital, Brasilia. On 1 March the primate of Poland will go to Argentina, where he will visit Polish parishes.

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER WIEJACZ VISITS ITALY

For reportage on Deputy Foreign Minister Jozef Wiejacz' visit to Italy to sign a cultural cooperation agreement including his comments on meetings with Italian officials, see the Italy & the Vatican section of the 17 February Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION ON 5-DAY VISIT TO CUBA

For Havana and Warsaw Domestic Service accounts of the visit to Cuba by the parliamentary delegation led by Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa, see the Cuba section of the 21 February Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

'REAGAN'S DECEPTION OF ARMAMENTS HISTORY'

LD171830 Warsaw PAP in English 1711 GMT 17 Feb 84

["Reagan's Deception of Armaments History" -- PAP headline; by PAP military correspondent]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Feb -- The post-war history provides a clear proof that the roots of the arms race are buried in American soil. SInce 1945 all new kinds of weapons and arms systems have appeared in the American arsenals first.

There is no doubt that Ronald Reagan's administration is now staging the largest-scale postwar distortion of the history of armaments, notably strategic.

It is true that in the first half of [words indistinct], 20 years ago, the number of the U.S. nuclear delivery means was equal to the present one. But the perfidy of Reagan's arguments and propaganda consists in their making mention of the immense effort the U.S. has put into the technological, qualitative rearmament of its military arsenal. Following are facts:

It took 30 minutes to fire the first American intercontinental missiles. Its accuracy was measured in kilometres and it was able to strike only one target. The to-date Minuteman 3 missile can be fired within 1-3 minutes, it contains a MIRV warhead with three nuclear charges of which each can be precisely directed at three various targets.

The MX missiles under construction are tipped with MIRV warheads with 10 nuclear charges and their accuracy is put at 100 metres. Hence a salvo of 100 MX missiles is tantamount to the precise delivery of 1000 nuclear charges to selected targets and its battlefield value surpasses that of 1,000 Atlas or Minuteman 1 missiles.

For the past 20 years the U.S. Navy has had 41 submarines with ballistic missiles. But a salvo of the Polaris A-1 missiles from a nuclear submarine carried only 16 nuclear charges and could reach targets situated within a radius of 2,800 kilometres. Later came the Poseidon missiles with a salvo (also from one warship) growing to 160-224 charges precisely delivered to different targets and their range increasing twofold.

Since November 1981 the U.S. has had yet another system: "Ohio warship -- Trident-1 missiles" with combat capacity outscaling that of 10 warships with the Polaris missiles. Also, the construction is under way of "Trident-2" system with the range of 10-11 thousand kilometres.

The B-52 bomber of the early 1960's was equipped with one or even a few nuclear bombs, while the present bomber carries 20 self-controlled homing cruise missiles with the range of 3,000 kilometres. The former one was a classical bomber appearing over a target while the latter is a flying launch-pad making it possible to fire nuclear means at remote targets.

In 1960 the U.S. strategic means were able to deliver to a target a little more than 2 thousand nuclear charges, whereas now the number is put at over 15 thousand and by 1990 the U.S. expects to have it increased to 20 thousand.

U.S., USSR COMPARED AS TRADING PARTNERS

LD181217 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 18 Feb 84

["USSR -- Desirable Partner" -- PAP headline; by PAP editor]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Feb -- While announcing and carrying out the policy of sharp and brutal restrictions against Poland, the United States authorities also put an embargo on the deliveries of equipment for the 5,000-kilometre-long gas pipeline which was to link Siberia and Western Europe. They also called on their allies to follow the same path and exerted pressure on them to heed the call.

And what happened? The gas pipeline is already there and operating. The gigantic project has been crowned with complete success. Despite the U.S. pressure, Western firms -- from the FRG, France, Italy, Japan and Britain -- had joined in the pipeline construction. Washington's efforts proved futile. The success of the construction, its scheduled commission, is simultaneously an economic, financial and political defeat of those who had called for boycott of this imposing undertaking.

This is one more confirmation of the universal truth which determines practical business activity in the West that the Soviet Union is, and to an even increasing extent, a greatly desirable, highly valued and worthy of courting economic partner.

To the people guided by realistic evaluation of facts, phenomena and trends, including those people in the West who are not enthusiastic about the socialist ideas because of their class positions, this is unquestionable. They know it best who is the partner worthy of courting in business, whose favour they should seek in the name of long-term partner-like relations.

Such ascertainments are nothing new to us, in Poland. We know it well what this cooperation with the land of the soviets means for us -- both that in the past and the most recent past, the period marked by American restrictions -- today and tomorrow. The lessons of the West are giving new colours to our experiences.

AGRICULTURE, OTHER ACCORDS WITH USSR SIGNED

LD172004 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Protocols on the plan of cooperation in agriculture between Poland and the Soviet Union for 1984, and on scientific and technological co-operation and trade exchange for 1986-1990, have been signed in Warsaw. Of particular importance to our agriculture are deliveries of Soviet tractors and other agricultural equipment.

TRADE OFFICIAL ON IMPORTS FROM BLOC STATES

LD181350 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Anna Andrzejewska interview with Wladyslaw Gwiazda, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade; date and place not specified -- recorded]

[Text] [Andrzejewska] Minister, will there be any meaningful changes in our trade with the socialist countries this year? I am asking about changes, as the signing of the trade protocols with individual countries was rather uphill.

[Gwiazda] Sometimes negotiations are quite easy, but by and large they are difficult.

[Andrzejewska] These ones, were they very difficult?

[Gwiazda] Simple, our appetities were greater than the possibilities of our partners. Our demand, above all for raw and other materials for production, for consumer goods, greatly exceeds our partners' supply capacities and this caused procrastination in talks.

[Andrzejewska] What about our exports? What have we offered our partners for the year 1984?

[Gwiazda] Our offer was traditional, though I must say it does not measure up to our import appetites.

[Andrzejewska] Are we exporting food to any of the socialist countries?

[Gwiazda] To the socialist countries we are exporting only the ranges of food and agricultural articles of which we have a surplus.

[Andrzejewska] This sounds like a heresy. Food surpluses!

[Gwiazda] Why? With regard to fruit, vegetables, and processed and frozen food, there are no supply problems on the domestic market. To obtain some foods from our partners we offer them what we have at our disposal.

[Andrzejewska] And now imports. Let us start with food.

[Gwiazda] There will be relatively small quantities of chicken, wine, peaches, grapes, water melons, wine [as heard], champagne and insignificant quantities of brandy.

[Andrzejewska] And what about meat?

[Gwiazda] I have already mentioned the supplies of poultry. [as heard] With regard to meat we have signed an agreement with China for the delivery of 14,000 metric tons of meat. Also, due to additional barter transactions in exchange for our goods we have agreed on supplies of pork from Hungary amounting to a set total in rubles, while in a so-called free currency settlement, we will import from Hungary 26,000 metric tons of pork and chicken. [sentence as heard].

[Andrzejewska] Minister, we have problems with fats, we have problems with butter. Nobody wants to sell us anything. Do they have problems themselves or do they prefer dollars?

[Gwiazda] Even if that were the case, it would be understandable.

[Andrzejewska] They are very clever if they sell for dollars. We should copy them.

[Gwiazda] With regard to the import of fats, we will buy fairly large quantities of rape seed from China. We also try to buy, in additional transactions, sunflower and rape seed oil from the remaining socialist countries.

[Andrzejewska] And butter and lard?

[Gwiazda] We do not buy butter or lard from the socialist countries. This does not mean that there is no demand for such import; simply our partners are unable to oblige.

CHERNENKO ELECTION FUELS WARSAW 'MOROSENESS'

PM161633 Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 Feb 84 p 3

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Increased Moroseness in Warsaw"]

[Text] Warsaw -- Whether it is due to Andropov's death, Konstantin Chernenko's election, or the Sejm debate which the Polish press reported on Tuesday, the fact remains that there has been increased moroseness in Warsaw over the past few days.

The choice of Mr Chernenko is certainly not good news for the team in office in Poland. I have given the reasons for that and there is no need to go over them again. What is certain is that the victory won by the party apparatus in Moscow will give its Warsaw counterpart new vigor. Moreover, who can have forgotten the satisfaction which certain top state officials expressed openly in private when Mr Andropov was chosen in preference to Mr Chernenko to succeed Brezhnev?

Naturally, however, you have to make the best of a bad job, and General Jaruzelski sent to the CPSU's new general secretary a congratulations message whose length and warmth equals the strength and marked nature of the uncertainty felt in Warsaw. That is one of the rules of the game.

Indeed many people in the entourage of leadership circles are consoling themselves by pointing out:

1 -- that it will take Mr Chernenko some time to consolidate his power, and that, meanwhile, Warsaw's freedom of movement will be a little greater;

2 -- that he was not elected without giving serious pledges to the military apparatus and that, "willingly or unwillingly," he will essentially have to continue Andropov's policy;

3 -- that the new general secretary is over 72 years old and that his delicate health is a guarantee that his reign will be fairly temporary.

In this gloomy climate, the Polish deputies have decided, with understandable haste (nonetheless there were four abstentions) to extend their mandate for 1 year whereas, according to the Constitution, elections ought to have been held in the spring. The authorities clearly think that it would be too dangerous to call elections this year, and is this not an admission of how precarious the "normalization" is?

Moreover the government continues to show great timidity and only to shuffle forward at snail's pace. For instance the Sejm has adopted a new law for municipal and regional elections that is probably a step in the right direction. But it was done so cautiously that it takes a good deal of good will to notice it. The candidates will, of course, be chosen by "electoral colleges" and presented in pairs on the voting slips, and a choice will have to be made between them, but they will be placed in an order decided by the colleges. The bill's keynote speaker defended it, moreover, by putting forward arguments whose naivety and stupidity apparently escaped him. For instance, he said it was necessary to reform the electoral law because some eccentrics wanted (horror or horrors!) "to guarantee that the voters had the opportunity to make a real choice between the candidates." It is true that in a socialist system you think you are dreaming!

To add to the disappointment the Sejm postponed the scheduled and eagerly awaited debate on the foundations bill which is to enable the Church to creation a foundation with the job of aiding family farms.

The announcement of the decision to bring former Prime Minister Jaroszewicz and his deputy before the state court was not able to dispel the prevailing moroseness; everybody recognizes the former prime minister's mistakes, but the public is now indifferent to his case.

Future Heir

Moreover the economic situation is no more likely to boost the population's morale. Following the recent price hikes, it has been announced today that industrial production was up in January compared with the corresponding month in 1983, but that, compared with last December, it was down by 5.9 percent! In addition, the zloty has just been devalued by 28 percent compared with the other socialist countries' currencies, although that does not affect trade but only everyday transactions, and especially tourism. It is hoped that this will make it possible to improve the balance in the accounts, since fewer Poles will go abroad and more citizens from neighboring countries will be tempted to visit Poland.

The only positive note in all this is the brilliant speech on international affairs but also on the country's situation delivered to the Sejm by Foreign Minister Olszowski. It confirms the growing authority of this man, who is certainly the Politburo's most intelligent member. There is reason to think that if the current team, paralyzed as much by its own doubts as by the action of its adversaries among the party cadres, continues to show the same lack of dynamism, and if the party apparatus in Warsaw regains the positions its counterpart has just recovered in Moscow, his hour could come soon. Indeed he would become not so much the rival as the heir, and, meanwhile, an increasingly influential partner of Gen Jaruzelski.

OLSZOWSKI ADDRESSES SEJM ON FOREIGN POLICY

AU161618 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 84 pp 4, 5

[Speech by Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski at 13 February Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Text] May it please the house! The peaceful policy of the party of Lenin -- the policy of the USSR -- has an enormous influence on the development today. Yuriy Andropov was an eminent representative and one of the creators of this policy. Today we join in the grief over his death.

Yu. Andropov Will Remain In Working People's Memory

An eminent Communist, an aktivist of the party and the Soviet Union, and one of the leading statesmen of the world has departed. As general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Yuriy Andropov was a continuer of the Soviet Union's peaceful Leninist policy, a warrior against the imperialist threat, and a spokesman for a secure and peaceful world. He belonged to the generation which experienced the cruelty of war, just as the Polish nation experienced it. He fought against the Hitlerite invader for his own country's freedom and for the liberation of other nations. Yuriy Andropov made the cause of peace and the cause of protecting mankind from nuclear catastrophe the mainstream of the activities of the USSR, the socialist countries, and all peaceful forces. The Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states, rich with peaceful initiatives, arose with his eminent participation. He acted consistently for the sake of enhancing cooperation, unity, and cohesion among the socialist countries, and among the international communist and workers movement. He supported national liberation struggles and acted for the cause of social progress.

He fought for the cause of peace and worked for the sake of present and future generations.

Yuriy Andropov's figure and his struggle and deeds will remain in the grateful memory of working people in Poland and all over the world.

His dedication to strengthening friendship and developing cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, and his dedication to enhancing the fraternal ties between the PZPR and the CPSU are well-known. We encountered his kindness and comprehensive understanding of our country's situation at every step.

We convey to the CPSU, to the supreme authorities of the Soviet state, and to Soviet society our deep sympathy.

Strengthening Our Country's International Position

May it please the house! A year ago from this tribune I presented a report about the international situation and the main tasks of the country's foreign policy. I spoke then about the deteriorating world situation and the complex conditioning factors abroad which affected the implementation of the government's tasks in the sphere of international relations.

Today, I would like to say that despite the deterioration of the situation in the international arena, the government has fulfilled the fundamental tasks. The international position of Poland has been strengthened. Increasing foreign activity by Poland has had strong support from all patriotic forces of society.

Clear symptoms of the country emerging from the crisis, the strengthening of the state authority structures, institutional development and continuous progress in socialist democratization, the construction of the front of national accord -- these are the main elements of the implementation of the line of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress. The activity of the PZPR has increased as well as that of the allied parties. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is consolidating its place in Poland. New trade unions, independent and self-governing, are signalling their place in society increasingly vividly. Relations between the state and the Catholic Church are progressing in a positive direction. Relations with the churches of different denominations are progressing very well. Despite still many difficulties and hardships in everyday life, nobody can deny the achievements. By healing its internal life, nobody can deny the achievements. By healing its internal life, Poland is yet again becoming a credible partner in international relations, thus showing the falseness of the Western statements which attribute to our country -- according to their own wishful thinking -- the role of a weak link in the community of socialist states.

All strata of society are becoming aware that our position in Europe and the world is mainly based on domestic strength, a healthy economy, and on a stability that creates material and spiritual prosperity for our society. This truth, which is simple in words, becomes most important during the implementation of a political culture program and during the building of this culture. We constantly refer to the results of the Ninth PZPR Congress, which analyzed our own mistakes, which we must not repeat on the one hand, and opposed the antisocialist internal and external forces which wanted to lead the country to chaos and toward destructive internal battle on the other. Putting an end to this state of affairs meant the opening up of a road leading to a revival of internal life and to a reestablishment of Poland's international role on the basis of the best traditions and lasting achievements of the 40 years since the war.

No one will succeed in turning Poland away from socialist development. Poland is and will remain a strong Warsaw Pact and CEMA member. Last year brought a further strengthening of our place in the family of socialist countries. This is the main achievement of Poland's foreign policy in 1983, and it is of key significance for our country's security and for its successful development, and also for Poland's active participation in international politics.

Last year we considerably expanded our relations with the developing states. More and more Western governments and political forces are aware that the U.S. anti-Polish policy of sanctions, pressure, and propaganda aggression, imposed on certain other states as well, is pointless, and are thinking of departing from this unrealistic course. However, as long as the sanctions and other signs of unfriendly policy remain in force, our relations with these states cannot be normal. We are interested not in some kind of make-believe improvement in these relations, but in complete partnerlike relations based on the universally recognized principles of international law.

Poland is aware of its joint responsibility for a peaceful development of events. Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski said on 17 January this year: "Poland has been and is an active spokesman for peace, detente, and disarmament. This stems from the humanitarian ideas of socialism which guide Poland, from our painful history, and from our contemporary interests. We do not wish to give up our traditional role as one of the initiators and promoters of European cooperation. We believe this role of Poland's does not only lie in Poland's interests."

Together with our allies, we presented in the January 1983 declaration by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states a comprehensive program for halting the arms race and averting the dangerous trends that create tension and lead to cold war and a threat to peace. We do not spare any efforts to make this program a reality. We have taken an active part in the positive conclusion to the Madrid CSCE follow-up meeting and in the process which resulted in the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe. We support the USSR's disarmament initiatives. We have given special support to the proposals aimed at protecting Europe from a new and dangerous escalation of the nuclear arms race. Everywhere -- at the United Nations, at the Vienna MBFR talks, and at other international conferences -- we have come out in favor of peace, cooperation, and an equitable settlement of existing conflicts. We favor disarmament.

The foreign policy of People's Poland is, as it were, a meeting place where the fundamental interests of the entire nation and the joint aspirations of its political forces, public associations, and religious organizations converge. This has been expressed by the PZPR, ZSL, and SD stance presented once again in a joint communique following the recent meeting of the party leaderships. With their international activity, the party, the allied parties, and social organizations are supporting the Polish state's activity for the sake of peace and a secure development. In the entire PPR foreign policy, the Sejm's activity and its wide international contacts play an exceedingly important role. PRON has lent its full support to our state's peaceful policy, and the Episcopate of the Catholic Church has also expressed concern over a peaceful future for the world during its latest plenary conference.

The U.S. Administration's Political Confrontation Course Is Increasing Tension and Threatening Peace

May it please the house! The peaceful orientation of Polish policy and of that of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is opposed by the United States and by some of its allies by a policy of confrontation and armaments. Its aim is to alter the existing military balance between the United States and the USSR and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This is accompanied by attempts to alter the balance of power in various regions of the world, and in this Washington does not even draw back from the threat of armed force or from its direct use. The confrontational political course of the present U.S. Administration has caused increased tension in East-West relations and the greatest threat to peace since the war. The current U.S. Administration is thinking of intensive armaments instead of disarmament, which is also what key Democratic Party activists are saying. As a result of this policy, the threat of war has reached unheard-of proportions in recent years. This is a threat to all mankind.

The development of U.S. missiles with nuclear warheads in Western Europe, including the FRG, has increased the threat to Poland, the Soviet Union, and the other socialist states. The new U.S. nuclear missiles increase the threat of a nuclear conflict, destabilize the situation in Europe, and undermine the achievements of detente policy.

The Warsaw Pact states have warned against the effects of this step many times. Numerous other governments and realistic and peaceful forces all over the world have also done so. In its aim to achieve world domination and guided by its great-power arrogance, the United States remains aloof to voices of common sense.

As a result, the Warsaw Pact states have been forced to take defensive countermeasures ensuring the preservation of military parity in Europe and the world. Poland supports the concrete steps taken by the USSR, CSSR, and GDR in this sphere. There would be no countermeasures of this kind without the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe.

It has also become clear that the United States joined the disarmament negotiations in Geneva not for the purpose of reaching accord, but for the purpose of creating a smokescreen for its continuing armaments course. It is worth recalling that the United States did this after rejecting the ratification of the SALT II treaty and in order to quell the growing unease of its European allies. The Geneva negotiations have lost their meaning in a situation where the United States has started deploying nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The stance of the Soviet Union contains a readiness to use every chance of conducting negotiations in order to reach practical agreements on restricting and reducing nuclear arms on the basis of equality and equal security.

At the same time, however, the Soviet stance disapproves of negotiations for their own sake, and rejects the contest with the aid of which the United States and NATO would like to make public opinion believe that the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe aimed at the socialist countries will not alter the military-political situation. Negotiations are always possible; however, they require a NATO readiness to return to the situation that existed prior to the deployment of the American missiles.

Poland supports the above stance of the USSR.

We have spoken out clearly in favor of dialogue and the development of peaceful relations between the USSR and the United States, the two greatest world powers. Dialogue creates premises for cooperation.

Lack of it furthers confrontation and weighs dangerously on the entire international climate. Such a dialogue is particularly necessary now, when the world is threatened by the apocalypse of nuclear destruction. It must, however, be genuine and not apparent dialogue. It must lead to positive results. In order for it to be so, both sides must observe the principles of reciprocity and equal security. Such a dialogue is irreconcilable with the policy from a position of strength carried on by the U.S. Government. Dialogue from a position of strength ceases to be dialogue; it becomes a diktat.

In Europe There Is No Problem Of Borders, But There Is One Of Peace

An expression of the policy from a position of strength is, on the part of the U.S. Government and, under their name, of the governments of other capitalist states as well, interference in the internal affairs of the socialist states and making economic relations subject to political conditions. Instead of mutually favorable economic cooperation and trade exchange, the United States is forcing an economic war; is pursuing on a broad scale various forms of embargo and economic restriction.

This is in contradiction of the UN Charter and the CSCE Final Act. It is also an additional source of tension in the relations between East and West.

The growth in tension has raised the hopes of anticommunist circles for making a change in the relationship of political forces in Europe. It is also the source of an intensified revival of revisionist tendencies in the FRG. On the basis of the officially supported theory of existence of the German reich within its 1937 borders attempts are made to upset the territorial-political order in Europe which was created as a result of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and confirmed in the treaties concluded by the FRG with socialist countries in the seventies, and in the CSCE Final Act. Voices which question the existing borders, and above all our Western border, are being raised and are spreading. Dangerous myths about the existence of the so-called German minority in Poland are being created and popularized. Intentions concerning the so called German unification action are not being concealed.

These tendencies find encouragement in the statements of politicians from across the ocean, for example in the statement by the U.S. secretary of state at the Stockholm conference that it is necessary to overcome the division artifically -- as he put it -- imposed on Europe and the German nation.

Poland has forcefully resisted and will continue to resist these dangerous manifestations of territorial-political revisionism. It is worth reminding that in Europe there is no border problem but there is the problem of peace. Any attempt against the existing borders means an attempt against peace. Any attempt to undermine them is an attempt to weaken the foundation of European security on which the whole edifice of the policies of detente and peaceful coexistence rests.

The above-mentioned measures against the socialist countries are clearly aimed at transforming Europe once again into a region of dangerous tension. They are accompanied by statements by some American and West European politicians about an end of the era of detente and a return to cold war. However, we are counting on realism on the part of the West European countries. The Madrid meeting has shown that despite the differences that exist, agreements based on compromise are possible if there is good will and a mutual understanding not only of differences in interests, but also of the similarity of interests.

The common interest of the European nations and states is above all to protect Europe from war and preserve security based on military parity on a lower level of armaments than at present; develop mutually advantageous economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation and cooperation concerning the environment and the humanitarian fields; and conduct real political dialogue and restore trust.

The Success of the Stockholm Conference Depends on a Return of Mutual Confidence

The Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe which began in January 1984 in Stockholm creates a chance for starting a deescalation of the tension. The participation of ministers of foreign affairs in the opening stage of the conference has shown that the detente structures which were created in the seventies are useful, that the majority of states wants the CSCE process to continue and wants to make a contribution to reversing the tendencies dangerous for peace in Europe and the world. We assess positively the beginning of the conference as well as the possibility to hold bilateral meetings with the ministers of foreign affairs of many states. We have noted a certain change in the tone of the American and some other NATO states' speeches. However, the security of states and nations does not depend on the tone of speeches. It should be regretted that this change had not taken place earlier and in particular before the deployment of new offensive nuclear-missile weapons. The American missiles in Europe have not made the world a safer place. The U.S. allies also know about this and they have expressed this in Stockholm.

The success of the Stockholm conference will depend on a departure from the policies of confrontation, on getting rid of the obsession with nuclear arms and abandoning intervention into the internal matters of other states. The concept of mutual and equal security of all states has to be adopted. This kind of premise lies at the basis of the initiatives by Poland and other socialist states and is reflected in the position taken by them at the Stockholm conference. It is shared by a number of other states, particularly neutral ones.

In order for the Stockholm conference to fulfill expectations, it should primarily involve itself with matters of fundamental importance for the return of mutual confidence. These matters include a treaty on the nonuse of military force and on a development of peaceful relations between NATO and Warsaw Pact states, this treaty being open to other states as well.

Another important step could be a commitment by all nuclear states not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, just as the Soviet Union made this commitment years ago. We are also in favor of creating a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe including the Baltic, in the Balkans, and in other parts of Europe. We have not forgotten the Rapacki Plan and the plan on an arms freeze which are once again attracting the interests of many political circles in Europe and the world. Poland was and is an avid spokesman for all initiatives leading to the freeing of the whole of Europe from nuclear weapons.

These measures would suit the requirements of the day and would lead to a growth in mutual security and to a lesser risk of war breaking out. They would fully conform to the Stockholm conference mandate that was adopted in Madrid.

At the same time, we are not against technical-military ways of building confidence if they really lead to a reduction in the level of confrontation and facilitate disarmament measures.

All the joint initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states contained in this document remain in force. Poland has contributed to the working out of these initiatives.

We Support the Soviet Union's Important Initiatives To Halt the Arms Race

We support the Soviet Union's important initiatives to halt the arms race, especially involving nuclear arms, and to exclude space from the arms race.

Together with the other socialist countries, we have proposed a treaty on eliminating chemical weapons from Europe. We will aim for progress in this important matter as well as in other disarmament matters during the Geneva disarmament conference.

Poland and its allies have not departed from the principles of peaceful coexistence.

We fully support the stance contained in the January 1983 declaration by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states that "regardless of how complicated the situation in the world might be, it is possible to overcome the dangerous stage in international relations."

On 16 March, the Vienna talks on restricting arms and armaments in central Europe will be renewed. These are important talks. They concern the heart of Europe, which also include Poland. We are interested in reaching accord. We have presented suitable proposals together with our allies. Unfortunately, the stance of the NATO states has been negative so far. We would like this stance to change in a more constructive direction after the talks have restarted.

We are carefully noting all voices in the world which express concern over the state of the world today and over the dangers threatening mankind. We listen with all due seriousness to the words of the pope -- a Pole -- when he calls for an end to the arms race and for a strengthening of peace as man's supreme value.

The programmatic documents of the Palme commission, the Pugwash movement, and many other scientific and political organizations and authorities all over the world contain many valuable initiatives that are close to our stance.

We also observe the dedication and growing strength of the mass peace movements developing in estern Europe, and also the movements supporting an arms freeze that are in the United States.

Despite the current complicated and dangerous international situation, there is optimism in the fact that a new great peace coalition is emerging. Although it contains differences in many respects, it is united by one supreme goal -- the protection of mankind from the cataclysm of nuclear war.

May it please the house! I am concentrating on problems directly concerning Europe for understandable reasons. But the situation in other regions of the world is also alarming.

The Middle East conflict remains a trouble spot that is dangerous for world peace. The Israeli aggression against Lebanon, and the United States' increasing military involvement in that region are bringing dangerous new elements into the situation. Almost every day there are fresh reports on the tragic fate of the civilian population of Lebanon. The situation requires a comprehensive solution with the participation of all parties concerned. The elements of such a solution are known; the aggressor's withdrawal from the seized Arab territories; a recognition of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people including their right to their own, independent state; and a guarantee of security to all the states in the region.

Other serious threats are seen in Central America. The Government of the Polish People's Republic resolutely condemns unprecedented aggression by the United States against the little Caribbean island of Grenada. We support the stand of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, which, at present, is an object of constant pressure and military threat by the United States. We support the stand of Nicaragua and Cuba on the need for a peaceful solution to the conflict situation in Central America. We also support peaceful efforts by the states of the Contadora Group.

We support the stand of Angola, which is an object of aggression by the Republic of South Africa. We demand all action to be stopped, and UN resolutions on Namibia, as well as resolutions banning racism and apartheid, be respected.

We support the stand of the revolutionary government of Afghanistan in its struggle against outside intervention, and in its efforts to consolidate peaceful changes.

In accordance with its best freedom-loving traditions, Poland supports and will continue to support justified struggles of nations for freedom and independence, against imperialist neocolonial domination, for a new international economic deal, and against economic exploitation.

The growing gap between the rich capitalist countries and the poor developing countries is a reason behind much of the current tension in the world. We are in solidarity with most of the developing countries in their demand to halt the arms race and allocate at least part of the funds thus saved for socioeconomic development; for the struggle against hunger, illiteracy, and natural disasters; for environmental protection; for the elimination of disease; and other misfortunes besetting mankind.

A Basic Task -- Further Strengthening Friendship and Cooperation With the USSR and the Other Socialist Countries

May it please the house! On the verge of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, I wish to stress the unchangeability of the principles of our government's foreign policy.

They are: friendship, fraternity, alliance, and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the entire community of socialist countries; solidarity with peoples fighting for national liberation and social progress; and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

The 40 years of People's Poland have fully confirmed the correctness of these principles. Without diminishing the problems and difficulties that exist and being aware of the danger stemming from the tense international situation, we are performing this year's tasks conscious of Poland's stronger position and having the growing support of all the patriotic forces of society for the basic principles of the state's foreign policy which are: guaranteeing a secure and independent existence for the state and nation; guaranteeing Poland's proper place in the international community; and active participation in international cooperation with advantages for our nation and for the sake of the country's development and for the development of its economy, science, and culture.

A basic task remains the further strengthening of peace and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR. Alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR are the cornerstone of the foreign policy of People's Poland. Cooperation widened in all spheres last year. This applies to interstate and interparty contacts and contacts between parliaments and social organizations. A rich program of scientific-cultural cooperation was signed. Trade reached a level of over R10 billion.

We will never forget that it is the USSR that came to us with help and support during the difficult times our country has gone through in past years. This is an example of the really internationalist relations between the CPSU and USSR on the one side and the PZPR and PPR on the other.

The Polish-Soviet alliance born of the battle against fascism is an important element of the political-defensive alliance which the Warsaw Pact is. It is the memory of this truth that will be particularly stressed during the 40th anniversary of People's Poland. The Polish-Soviet alliance is an important element of peace on the European Continent. Any attempts to undermine it are doomed to failure, as recent experiences show.

We will aim unchangingly toward a comprehensive development of friendship and cooperation with the other European socialist countries.

Concerning Czechoslovakia, a basic task is to further strengthen the ties linking our states and widen the current platform of political and economic cooperation both on a bilateral and multilateral level within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. This should be encouraged by the consistent implementation of the highest-level decisions made during the visit to Poland by the CSSR party-state delegation headed by President Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

As the recent visit paid to our country by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council, has reaffirmed, our supreme directive in our relations with the GDR is to continue the efforts to strengthen our comprehensive political and economic ties as the necessary condition for consolidating an inviolability of the postwar territorial-political order in Europe and to jointly counter the revisionist tendencies in FRG policy. Further development of vacation exchanges of children and youngsters, which this year will involve over 200,000, and the large-scale vacation exchanges of Polish and GDR trade unionists are of great importance for strengthening and expanding the contacts between our two peoples.

Our relations with the Hungarian People's Republic are marked by traditional friendship and mutual trust. New incentives for the further comprehensive development of Polish-Hungarian relations were created by last year's visit in our country by the party-government delegation led by Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary. The present development of the comprehensive program for Polish-Hungarian cooperation up to 1900 is a crucial result of that visit.

Our cooperation with the People's Republic of Bulgaria is developing actively and increasingly comprehensively. In particular, the prospects for further expanding and tightening Polish-Bulgarian economic relations are favorable. The coming period will be marked by an increased activity in the sphere of the highest level political contacts. The coming visit to Poland of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council, will be an important event.

Our relations with the Socialist Republic of Romania are developing favorably, especially in the sphere of the economy. This year we will continue important political contacts as attested to by the coming visit by President Nicolae Ceausescu, RPC Central Committee general secretary.

Our relations with the SFRY are developing positively. We hope that this year will see a further development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation and important political meetings.

We can generally say that our relations with European socialist countries are developing favorably and in a partnerlike spirit. The policy of reorientating our economic relations is being consistently implemented. In most areas the level of cooperation with the socialist countries has reached or even surpassed that of the years 1979-80. We will seek to ensure that this year sees further progress in personal contacts and in cooperation promoted by the PRON, trade unions, and youth organizations.

Of special importance will be a more complete exploitation of the possibilities offered by the program for economic integration, production specialization, coordination of development plans, exploitation of free production capacities, and development of farm-food and scientific-technical cooperation and direct contacts between representatives of regions, cities, plants, and higher schools.

We want to fully implement the adopted program for economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and especially, the decisions made by the 37th CEMA session.

Overcoming the Crisis Is the Most Important Problem for Poland's Future

The fundamental problem for Poland's future is to overcome our crisis and to promote prospects for our favorable economic development. All countries in the world, including the most developed countries, are experiencing certain economic difficulties. The search for new production technologies continues. Large scientific research centers continue to assign enormous sums of money to create new technologies in order to increase labor productivity, conserve raw materials, tap new sources of energy, and expand the use of microelectronics in production.

No matter what turn the international situation may take -- for better or worse -- the issue of the economy in the development of the socialist system is now more than ever important. To this effect, all the socialist countries continue to launch new experiments aimed at improving the management of the national economies and to develop and implement reforms to accelerate the economic progress of socialism as the foundation for improving the conditions of social life. The leadership of our country has also begun such work.

Our large material and intellectual potential, which is our achievement to date, constitutes a starting point for a new stage of economic and technological development. However, no country as large as ours is able on its own to solve all the costly long-term problems. This is possible only through the international division of labor, exchanges of scientific ideas, research work, and economic cooperation. Managing, economic, and scientific research cadres are facing the responsible task of increasing Poland's commitment to international economic relations, especially in CEMA. This is in Poland's vital interest. We will make efforts to ensure that the CEMA summit meeting this year offers new possibilities for developing and improving the forms of economic and scientific-technological cooperation among socialist countries.

Poland has friendly and multilateral relations with the non-European socialist countries. The foreign minister's visit to Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea have helped tighten political contacts and promote economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation.

Our political and economic cooperation with Mongolia is developing favorably.

Our relations with Cuba have been tightened. We continue to give Cuba complete political support in its anti-imperialist struggle. We expect that this year we will continue our lively political contacts, exchanges of young people, and development of various new forms of cooperation.

Our cooperation with the DPRK, Afghanistan, and other socialist countries, as well as those that profess socialist orientation -- Ethiopia, Angola, Nicaragua, or South Yemen -- has developed positively.

Our relations with the PRC has improved. It is common knowledge that differences of views on many important international problems continue to exist between Poland and other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the PRC, on the other. However, there is agreement on other problems. We are interested in continuing mutually beneficial economic and other cooperation.

We Seek To Expand and Stimulate Contacts With Developing Countries

May it please the house, in accordance with last year's announcements, we are giving high priority to our relations with developing countries. In 1983, together with our partners, we undertook a number of steps for enlivening political contacts with many states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Numerous visits took place, and many decisions concerning economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation were adopted.

In the current year, we will continue making efforts to more fully use potentially existing possibilities for considerably broadening economic cooperation. Poland shows respect for the Nonaligned Movement, which plays an important role in world policy.

Our position in this respect was reflected by the participation of Professor Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, in the meeting of heads of governments and states, organized by Indira Gandhi, Indian prime minister during the 38th UN General Assembly session in New York.

We are pleased to note unceasing progress in the development of our relations with India. We are convinced that the further development of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation, and the political dialogue will be promoted by summit meetings planned for this year.

We highly value India's role in international politics and its chairmanship of the Nonaligned Movement.

We have economically and politically important links with Syria, Libya, Algeria, Iraq, and Nigeria. We expect that these links will favorably develop. We will continue mutually beneficial economic cooperation with Iran, Morocco, Egypt, Kuwait, as well as the ASEAN countries, especially Indonesia and Thailand.

Traditional friendly relations continue to develop between Poland and a number of Latin American countries -- Mexico, Venezuela, Columbia, and Peru. We think that this year we will make further progress in developing those relations and will invigorate relations with the new government of Argentina as well with that large Latin American country -- Brazil.

Against the background of all those relations, we can state that the intention to isolate Poland came to nothing and that the spearhead of this isolation aimed at us is turning against those who have devised the illegal policy of restrictions.

Fiasco of Anti-Polish Policy of Restrictions, Pressure, and Propaganda Aggression

May it please the House, as I have already stated, we are consistent supporters of the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. It is the intention of the government to maintain partner-like, mutually advantageous relations with developed capitalist countries. We have various relations with this group of countries and these relations depend on how individual states approach Poland, on their observance of the universally accepted norms of international law, and in particular, on respect for the principle of noninterference in internal affairs.

I wish to stress once again that the unfriendly actions taken against Poland in the form of economic and other restrictions and the continuation of aggressive anti-Polish propaganda cannot be reconciled with the development of normal relations among sovereign countries.

As a result of the policy of pressure and sanctions pursued toward Poland, and of breaking bilateral agreements in force, the Polish economy sustained losses estimated to be approximately $12.5 billion, while Poland's bilateral relations with the states in question deteriorated considerably.

It is the U.S. Government and the governments of certain other NATO countries that bear the entire responsibility for this state of affairs. This deterioration in relations applies particularly to the United States which, pursuing its great-power interests and goals, with no compunction ruined the substantial achievements in the development of the bilateral relations between Poland and the United States.

As we stated in the note of the Government of the Polish People's Republic, dated 3 November 1983, we require that the United States drop its policy of discrimination, halt interference in our internal affairs, bring the propaganda aggression to an end, and compensate for the losses that have been sustained. It is only a positive approach by the U.S. Government to our proposals which can open up a path leading to an improvement in bilateral relations.

As for the most recent abolition by the U.S. authorities of some minor restrictions, we expressed our position in the PAP communique published on 3 February. That abolition can in no way modify the demands we are making. In view of the continued propaganda aggression and the main economic and scientific restrictions, we can reasonably claim that the U.S. Government continues its unfriendly policy toward Poland.

However, the aforementioned abolition can be taken to mean that Washington, too, is beginning to realize that the present policy toward Poland has failed and has no prospects.

This realization is beginning to clearly gain the upper hand in a number of Western capitals. During my recent talks in Stockholm, the foreign ministers from those capitals declared their intention to depart from the policy of restriction, to begin the process of improving economic and scientific-cultural relations with Poland, and to invigorate the political dialogue. We have accepted those declarations and are waiting for them to be confirmed in practice.

It is no secret that our traditionally friendly relations with France have suffered a decisive deterioration through no fault of ours. I hope that these relations will improve this year. We think that this is what the objective national interests of our two countries and the complicated situation in Europe require. In particular, we expect that our joint commission for economic cooperation will hold a meeting.

Our relations with the FRG are complex. We invariably state that we are ready to continue the process of normalization of our bilateral relations on the basis of, and given complete observance of, the treaty of December 1970. Polish-FRG relations can and should develop in the interests of both states and in the interests of peace and security in Europe. However, a burden is placed upon these relations by manifestations of revisionism which undermine the credibility of intentions proclaimed by Bonn. Development of these relations is not made easier through FRG involvement in the implementation of the NATO decisions on the deployment of the new nuclear missiles. Restrictions and sanctions of any kind toward Poland are irreconcilable with the agreement of 1970. We are expecting that the readiness to improve the bilateral relations proclaimed by the FRG Government will find its expression in the Joint Commission for Economic Affairs holding a session shortly and in a constructive attitude toward problems of economic cooperation with Poland.

As for our relations with Great Britain, Italy, and other NATO countries, we will develop our policy in line with these countries' stand on Poland. Improving these relations, which means that the policy of restrictions would have to be abandoned, would be in the interest of Poland and the countries concerned and would have a broader all-European significance for improving East-West relations.

We are pleased with the Canadian foreign minister's statement that NATO should abandon the policy of so-called sanctions [sankcje] against Poland at once. We believe that progress will be made this year in Polish-Canadian relations.

Our relations with Greece are developing favorably. We agree with Greece in its views on the crucial issues of European security and of international cooperation without discrimination and restrictions.

Our relations with Spain have developed favorably. I wish to express the conviction that we will register further progress in these relations, including political contacts, this year.

Our relations with neutral European countries -- Finland and Austria -- are developing very favorably. I wish to express our satisfaction with the improved relations with Sweden. This improvement has taken place in the past few months.

I think that this year the development of economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation, and of intensive political contacts with neutral countries will produce positive results.

The visit to Poland of Pope John Paul II in 1983 was an event of great international significance. It was very important in the process of constructive dialogue between the state and the Catholic Church in Poland. The talks General Wojciech Jaruzelski had with Pope John Paul II have deepened the Polish-Vatican dialogue on the subject of peace and security, especially in Europe. Regular political contacts with the Vatican are being maintained. In accord with an earlier announcement, we are maintaining our interest in the development of bilateral contacts.

Our Policy Concerning Our Debts

May it please the house, one essential element by which to measure the foreign policy is its effectiveness in supporting economic development in Poland. We shall be undertaking, together with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other relevant ministries, all efforts toward individual states and international organizations with the aim of promoting and protecting our economic interest. Development of cooperation will be subservient to extricating the national economy from the crisis and to the strategy of its further development. The main task is to transform economic cooperation into an important condition for economic progress in Poland.

As has been the case in the past few years, this year one of the most important issues in our economic relations with the Western countries will be to prevent our debts in these countries from increasing. The balance of payments, our commitment to service our debts, and the availability of foreign loans will decide whether our economic cooperation with the Western countries is a factor that facilitates or makes it difficult to overcome our crisis and to strengthen the process of invigorating our national economy. We will seek to settle our accounts with our creditors in line with long-term solutions that will enable us to pursue an active export and import policy. We are continuing our talks with private banks about the conditions under which our 1984 repayment commitments can be postponed. Under the auspices of the so-called Paris Club, we will continue to search for constructive solutions and to expect our creditors to do the same. We would like the normal principles of economic exchanges and cooperation to be restored by abolishing all restrictions and by taking into consideration the losses we have suffered. We have stressed many times that creditors must not expect us to repay our debts on time if they continue to apply the measures that slow down our economy and restrict our export potential. If the creditor countries would make it easier for us to export our goods to them, the prospects for servicing all our debts would be much better. Other conditions are the reinstatement of Poland as a member of the IMF in line with the intentions declared to us, and enabling Poland to obtain transaction loans that are the usual practice in international trade.

We expect that our economic relations with developing countries will be crucially expanded in line with the program adopted in June 1983. The sphere of the economy should be closely related to cooperation in other spheres -- scientific-technological, navigation, information-cultural, and tourist. This should result in a proliferation of achievements and in the correct development of mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

On 20 December 1983, the United Nations adopted the resolution on "Confidence-Building Measures in International Economic Relations." This solution amounts to the international acceptance of the Polish initiative submitted to the Sejm in March 1982. We will continue to develop and propagate that initiative, whose aim it is to ensure more reliable conditions for economic cooperation and to prevent its sudden stoppage for political reasons.

Traditionally we attach great importance to UN activity and to cooperation with other international organizations. We are voicing our support for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations in resolving fundamental problems of peace, security, and disarmament. We appreciate the activities to this effect undertaken by Perez de Cuellar, the UN secretary general. His visit to Poland, which is planned to take place shortly, will provide ample opportunities to exchange views on the international situation, the role of the United Nations in Poland's further cooperation with this organization and with the system of international organizations as a whole.

We highly appraise UNESCO activities in science, education, and culture, and in implementing the great task of understanding and rapprochement among nations. We will continue cooperation with that organization.

We will seek to tighten our cooperation with other international organizations, especially economic organizations.

As a member of GATT, we will make efforts to ensure that all states observe the commitments stemming from this agreement and, in particular, will come out against the suspension of the MFN clause by the United States in the case of Poland as a glaring violation of those commitments.

The EEC plays an important role in promoting economic cooperation between East and West. Poland actively participates in the work of the EEC, especially that concerning farming, coal, and transportation.

Poland has crucial tasks to fulfill within the UN development program, UNCTAD, the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, and other international organizations and associations.

The attitude of the ILO contrasts Poland's good cooperation with international organizations. The ILO has become an arena of attacks against Poland, because of which the Polish Government decided not to participate in ILO work last year. We have reserved the right to take further necessary steps, including resignation from the ILO, if the anti-Polish campaign, which has nothing to do with the ILO status, is not halted. We are still holding to this position.

Similar attempts to attack and slander Poland have been made in the Human Rights Commission. We decisively reject them as interference in Poland's internal affairs.

The aforementioned examples show that Polish affairs continue to be exploited for ideological struggle and for attempts to discredit socialism and Poland.

This is especially obvious in the work of the Western mass media. In the past few years, there have been innumerable examples of how those media lie about and unilaterally illuminate Poland's situation and how they promote subversive propaganda. The forms of promoting antisocialist forces in Poland are many. These forces are being manipulated in line with the scenarios developed by the anti-Polish subversive centers. Stubborn efforts worthy of a better cause are being made to mislead the Western public by presenting the situation in Poland in a distorted mirror and by twisting the facts.

Presentation of our affairs in the West serves certain political aims: To create an unfavorable climate around Poland and, often, to obscure awkward problems in the West. However, this damages Poland's good name and relations with the capitalist countries. The aggressive and offensive activities of the subversive radio stations that broadcast in the Polish language to fan tension in Poland conflict with normal interstate relations. We regard them as an integral part of international relations.

Poland conducts an open policy of information, admits journalists, and grants them permanent accreditation and facilities. However, we should recall that the existing international documents demand that the mass media do their work honestly and objectively. What is more, they demand that information promote detente and the mutual knowledge and rapprochement of nations. How can this be reconciled with Poland's image created by most Western mass media?

We note with satisfaction many friendly articles and comments published by the press, radio, and television of the socialist countries and of a number of developing countries. Objective reports can also be found in the Western press. We will grant facilities to all those journalists who are true to the mission of the journalistic profession -- honest and objective information.

Achievements of 40 Years of People's Poland Are an Important Factor in Strengthening Poland's International Position

May it please the house, the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland will be conducive to presenting the postwar achievements of our homeland, its present, and the transformations taking place. We shall refer to the recent celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. This anniversary reminded us of the history of the struggles for the socialist form of our political system and for just borders for our state. Poland will be maintaining broad cultural and scientific cooperation with foreign countries, remaining an open country to genuine artistic and intellectual values and, at the same time, striving for a full presentation of the achievements of Polish culture and science abroad. These achievements of our creative workers and scientists are an important factor in strengthening Poland's international position. We want to cordially thank them for that.

We expect that this year, together with our partners, we will achieve considerable progress in developing cultural and scientific cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries because this is one of the best ways to promote our allied relations with the help of lasting humanist values.

We will also expand cultural and scientific ties with many developing countries.

We will develop our cultural-scientific relations with the capitalist countries on the principle of genuine benefits and positive humanist values. At the same time, we will expect those countries to resume cooperation in those areas that have been restricted by the policy of the United States and some other NATO countries in the past few years.

Honorable house, the consular service's tasks also are considerable. The new law on the functions of the PPR consuls, which has been adopted by this house, has bestowed a high status on this most important function of the state abroad. We will seek to settle consular relations with still more countries and to sign the necessary accords and conventions that are crucially important insofar as the protection of the interests of the Polish citizens who are abroad is concerned.

The modified passport law will enable us to apply lasting principles of policy toward our citizens abroad, especially those who have emigrated most recently.

Together with other appropriate offices, we will continue to improve our care over the Polish citizens who are temporarily employed abroad and are members of ships' crews.

We attach great importance to increasingly cultivating our contacts with the Poles who are citizens of our countries and we appreciate the role of the Polonia Association in this regard. Most of those Poles are keenly interested in the country in which they were born or which was the homeland of their ancestors. The anti-Polish campaigns of slanders, pressure, and economic restrictions will not destroy these ties.

We are convinced that the patriotic attitude of the Polonia Poles will be demonstrated with increasing force through their support for Poland's affairs and through opposition to the forces that would like to turn our country into a hotbed of tension or to debase its importance within the international community.

Activities To Promote Peace and Prevent the Threat of War Are the Common Purpose of Socialist Countries

In implementing the tasks of foreign policy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has always taken advantage of the help and support of the Semj and its commissions. I would like to thank you for that and to express the conviction that we will continue to receive such support. We have difficult tasks before us, resulting from the needs of internal development but also, and primarily, from the tense international situation. Achieving progress in stabilizing the internal situation, we contribute to strengthening the structures of security and peace in Europe.

Not only the Poles, but also all of Europe need a Poland that is developing harmoniously. I think that everyone will better understand this simple truth. We will evaluate other countries' attitude toward Poland in line with that criterion.

There is no more urgent and important task among the many tasks I have discussed here than mobilizing our people's strength to preserve peace and to remove the threat of war. This is a feasible goal. We are not alone in this struggle. The USSR and the entire socialist community, as well as all progressive and realistically thinking political forces in the world continue to fight for that goal.

Poland's future is linked to peace and security in Europe and the world. We will do our best to preserve peace and to consolidate secure conditions for the existence and development of our state and people.

SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS AT 15TH PZPR CC PLENUM

LD181948 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Excerpts] We start our evening news bulletin with a report on the course of the proceedings of 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The deliberations of the 15th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, devoted to issues connected with the preparations for a national conference of delegates, ended exactly 45 minutes ago.

As is known, in accordance with the changes in the party's statute adopted by the ninth extraordinary congress, the delegates retain their mandates throughout the period of the term of office. The conference, due to be held in mid-March, will sum up the course of the term of office so far. In connection with this, today's plenum, which can be termed a working one, dealt with the most important issues pertaining to the party's activities so far, as well as its future work.

Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, delivered the Politburo's report. To a large extent, this speech summed up the accountability, election campaign which ended last month and which stretched to all the organizational bodies of the party right up to and including the voivodship committees.

The accountability-election campaign analyzed the implementation of the resolutions passed at the congress, at the Central Committee plenums, and at the plenary sessions of the local party bodies. Tasks for the next 2 ½ years were drawn up and new authorities elected. Four voivodships have elected new first secretaries.

Marian Orzechowski, deputy member of the Politburo, spoke next. He presented materials for discussion of the PZPR program. This extensive text is the initial stage in the implementation of the ninth congress decision on the need to produce a program of this kind. Its draft will be presented to the national delegates' conference.

Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee, presented the PZPR ideoprogrammatic declaration draft: What are we fighting for, for what are we striving.

Next, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, deputy member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, discussed draft rules and regulations for the election of PZPR authorities and delegates. The Central Committee plenum has recommended that these documents be presented to the national conference.

After the discussion, the plenum made personal decisions, relieving, at his request, Comrade Manfred Gorywoda of his post of Central Committee secretary, in connection with his appointment as a deputy premier. Zofia Stepien, candidate member of the Central Committee, became a member of the Central Committee. Lieutenant General Wladyslaw Pozoga, deputy minister of internal affairs, and Andrzej Wasilewski, director and chief editor of the State Publishing Institute, joined the ranks of candidate members of the Central Committee.

Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who chaired the session, stressed in summing up, the role of the national delegates' conference in the life of the party. It is a new idea, one of the safety measures adopted by the ninth congress against the return to a crisis situation.

The congress agreed that a guarantee can be provided, among other things, by the permanence of delegates' mandates. About the recently concluded accountability-election campaign, the first secretary emphasized that they had shown that a noticeable ideological and organizational consolidation of the party has been taking place, although not without difficulties. Its further improvement is an important task.

Effective accounting should be introduced in all fields of party activity. Particularly emphasis was placed on the party's tasks in the implementation of socialist social justice, resulting from constant concern for the interests of the working class. Where few workers have been elected to party authority, workers should be invited to attend meetings of branches so the will of the working class can be taken into consideration. Also, there should be long-term thinking about preparing young workers for party activity.

The first secretary announced that in the second quarter of this year, after the conference, an open 16th plenum of the Central Committee will be held with the participation of nonparty people, representatives of works, youth, union, and self-management aktivs.

AWARENESS, EDUCATION, APPROACH TO YOUTH PROBLEMS

AU151440 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish Nov-Dec 83 pp 81-133

[Editorial Discussion: "Young Poles and Problems of Present Times"]

[Excerpts] The young people's problem, that is, the issue of negation and continuation in the process of historical development and of the affairs of the young generation, including its militancy, awareness, role in the modern world, acute talent for observation, and natural criticism of reality, is a problem for the state and people and their development and future. Today when we have to struggle with the results of the acute economic and political struggle that asserted itself in 1980-81 and that had germinated before that time, when the international situation has become aggravated, when imperialism is using with increasing militancy all its weapons against the states of real socialism, including economic, political, and propaganda weapons, and has unleashed the nuclear arms race, and when the ideological struggle for man's basic interests and for nations' existence is becoming increasingly more acute, the affairs of the young generation -- its awareness, education, and approach to the problems of the world and the country are a problem of the highest importance. In this situation the NOWE DROGI editorial team and the PZPR Central Committee Youth Department decided to organize an editorial discussion on the subject of "Young Poles and Problems of the Present Times," regarding the discussion as a contribution to the discussion in the country, the party, the press, in plants, and in families.

Our discussion goes back to the ninth party congress resolutions and exemplifies the contents of the ninth party plenum devoted to young people's problems. In a way our discussion is a continuation of the statements made at the conference of young members of the PZPR in the Olivia Hall in Gdansk. Our discussion is a modest contribution to deliberations on the program for activities among and for our young people. It is an attempt to give a concrete shape to the conclusions stemming from the implementation of the resolution adopted on young people by the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat. We proposed that the participants in the discussion tackle the following groups of subjects: the description of young people and their organizations; the young generation's sociopolitical attitudes and awareness, young people's role in the economic, cultural, and scientific-technical development of the country; and the priorities and prospects of PZPR youth policy.

The discussion we are presenting points to certain problems that continue to agitate young people from various communities. We do not wish to regard this discussion as over. We invite everyone wishing to contribute to it to write to us.

Taking part in our discussion were: Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Professor Bogdan Suchodolski, chairman of the National Council of Culture; Zenon Imbierowski, teacher in a primary school in Bydgoszcz; Krzysztof Maczka, officer of the Polish People's Armed Forces; Leszek Miller, head of the PZPR Central Committee Youth Department; Irena Walecka, schoolgirl from the Batory General Secondary School in Warsaw; Zbigniew Letner from the Youth Innovation Center in Katowice; Lecturer Miroslaw Karwat from the PZPR Central Committee Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism; Bozena Jaworska, student from Warsaw University; Tomasz Chruszczow, aktivist in the Polish Scout Union in Warsaw; Danuta Mika, secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Walbrzych; Jacek Raciborski, chairman of the All-Poland Council of Young Scientific Workers of the Union of Polish Students; Antoni Samborski, farmer, ZMW aktivist in Legnica Voivodship, and Sejm deputy; Zbigniew Sabotka, metallurgical worker and chairman of the ZSMP in Warszawa foundry; and Sylwester Szafarz, head of the foreign section of NOWE DROGI.

The discussion was chaired by Wieslaw Klimczak, first deputy chief editor of NOWE DROGI. Leszek Miller, head of the PZPR Central Committee Youth Department, introduced the discussion.

Leszek Miller:

No doubt our subject is most extensive and creates many temptations, because the issues involving young people are also the issues of all our people, of the state of structures and processes within them, of the quality of the socialist state, and of the contents of its programs. We could discuss in turn all the issues that are of importance for our people and whatever concerns young people to a lesser or greater extent.

The state of our young people's ideopolitical consciousness is a product of many factors and actions. As a party we have no monopoly of ideoeducational influence, and no one has such a monopoly. Contrary to current views, neither the church nor the opposition have such a monopoly. If the statements made by representatives of the church profess that there is a political vacuum among young people of such dimensions that this becomes, as they say, dangerous to the people's existence and young people want politics and not religion from the church, this means that young people are not fascinated by the church's ideology, but that this fascination is represented by the church as a political alternative. This is what a segment of the church hierarchy believes. The opposition has never had any realistic vision of a better Poland. Its ideological-political programs have always been primary destructive.

Evaluating the party's impact on young people's awareness and attitudes, we should bear in mind that the party has more than one ideological and political adversary. It has many of them. We should also bear in mind that this is not a result of our weakness, but an objective result of the present stage of our country's socialist construction. We will never get rid of the enemies of socialism even if we were infallible, because it is not emotions, but differences in interests that produce such enemies, whose opportunities are an outcome of our errors. I do not have to remind this gathering about our most critical evaluation of the neglects and distortions of the ideological work within the party and among all our people. To this very day we continue to feel the results of those neglects and distortions. Intensive and primitive efforts to prove that the practice of our life was identical with the idea of socialism has caused a crash of this practice together with a profound mistrust in this idea. Other ideological orientations have replaced Marxist reflections and socialist ideals. Large segments of our young people, including even those who are to a great extent intellectually awake and who programmatically embrace left-wing positions, were shocked by the fiasco of the propaganda unity between theory and practice. This shock induced in them a feverish desire to search for values in the world of ideas and in various nooks of history.

As for the presence of young people in the party, the situation is dangerous inasmuch as we have now registered the lowest indicator ever of young people's presence in our party. There are almost 260,000 party members and candidates of up to 29 years of age, which is equal to 11.1 percent. The average age of party members stands at 43.8 years and is by 3 years higher than in 1978. At the same time, the number of young party members and candidates has decreased 61.6 percent since August 1980. Another eloquent figure: Almost 36 percent of party members and candidates of up to 29 years of age do not belong to any youth organization.

This is disturbing data, and this is why the entire party must search for new methods and forms of work with young people, for new experience, and for new emotional incentives. Especially in the most recent months we have made many attempts to activize young party members because we are convinced that primarily young people are capable of spreading socialist awareness among the young generation and of combating the counterawareness promoted by our political adversary.

Miroslaw Karwat:

I think that it would be good to realize that all of us are in a way restricted in our thinking, despite the fact that perhaps we did learn rather far-reaching lessons from the change that has occurred. However, our way of thinking has in a sense still not changed and has not been shaken to the right degree. We still indulge in the thinking of the type that searches for ways of how to master the situation in which most young people, speaking very crudely, "have stuck out their buttocks at us."

Bozena Jaworska:

At the beinning of this discussion someone asked whether it is possible for Marxism to return to young people's awareness as a view of the world. The answer to that question was that this is possible, but I ask you: How is this possible when up to now we have still not had any normal discussion about Marxism and about its nature? Everyone knows that Marxism is an open ideology, one which we can discuss and one which we can examine and watch. Life itself continues to improve it all the time, to point out errors, and to add something new. Why do we not discuss all that? Young people actually know little about the nature of Marxism, about its ideology, and about its ideas. Relying on hearsay slogans about equality and social justice, young people think they know all about Marxism. That is why I think that we should not be afraid of a discussion about Marxism because such a discussion is one of the main roads along which the Marxist view of the world that young people understand and comprehend can return to us.

Zenon Imbierowski:

I am a teacher. I am also a social functionary -- the first secretary of the PZPR plant committee of Bydgoszcz teachers.

Comrade Miller said that there are 260,000 young party members and candidates. I think that figures do not say much, but we must state unequivocally that there are very, very few of us young people in the party. This is really a problem, a problem for the party. However, to me as a teacher and practitioner it is obvious that we will not have militant members of youth organizations and will not be able to train future party members if our Polish schools are what they are now. That our schools are experiencing a crisis in the area of programs and cadres is obvious. However, it seems to me that only the recent years have most clearly demonstrated that our young people are politically alive, but that they often display a low specialist knowledge in the sociopolitical and economic sciences.

Waldemar Swirgon:

The definition of the conditions under which we conduct the party's policy with young people is a good point of departure for our discussion on the young generation and this policy. Previous statements from the floor turned around this issue, to which I also would like to refer. It goes without saying that we could list an entire series of factors that determine the awareness and attitudes of the young generation, and add to this list an equally extensive series of factors that determine the party's policy on young people. We could then argue which of them are more important and how they should be classified, but doing so is probably unnecessary because at this very moment we are talking about personal experiences and observations. On my part I would like to point to a number of contradictions rooted in the numerous social determining factors of the youth policy of the party and the socialist state.

I want to recall more than just the basic contradictions of the modern world -- between capitalism and socialism and between classes. We very often talk about these contradictions, but we also have in mind the contradictions that, although secondary and of limited social significance, tangibly determine our programmatic thinking and activity.

I think that one of the key issues of the work with young people is the need to take into consideration the contradiction between the two roles our party plays. On the one hand, it is the unceasing role of the revolutionary party that is in a typical opposition to current reality and to the overall aspects of the present socioeconomic conditions and that has an ideologically justified program for changing these conditions. On the other hand; it is the role of the party in government, which in every system uses different instruments than the opposing party and bears responsibility primarily for what takes place in the country and for what progress can be registered in implementing earlier programs. I think that our view about work with young people is overburdened by the historical traditions of the party that was in active opposition, whereas today we are primarily responsible for our ability to implement our own programs and to induce the public to accept and actively support them. We have not been in any way relieved of the tasks facing the entire revolutionary workers movement and the left-wing youth movement, including the task of radically changing social conditions. This task is our main target, but as a governing party we must also map out in all spheres of life the partial and short-term tasks, which are not always popular. We must consistently see that they are implemented and we must make small persevering steps toward our basic constitutional target -- the construction of the socialist society of social justice and equality. It is possible to socialize the means of production by a single act, but their real socialization is a process that also demands other skills and resources than just revolutionary decrees and laws. Young people, who are naturally rebellious and arrogant vis-a-vis the world and who are devoid of the knowledge of life and personal experience, find it especially difficult to see and comprehend this dialectic of social development and of the functions of the party that run this development.

The second issue that seems very crucial to me is the necessity to take into account the contradictions that were present in young people's awareness and attitude toward socialism and the party during the violent changes and counterrevolutionary threat in 1980-82. Their attitudes also reaffirmed that the supreme socialist values, especially the socialist notions of social justice and equality, were deeply rooted in their general awareness. It is true that the outbreak of new aspirations and discontent was full of naivete and utopian thinking, but it is certainly possible to speak of the reaffirmation of the profound changes in the social awareness of the Polish people engaged in socialist construction under the leadership of the communist party. However, on the other hand, we were confronted with an attempt to cast political doubts on the carrier of those values at a time when a segment of our people refused to grant the historical creators of those values -- the class workers movement and the Marxist-Leninist party -- the right to implement the values of socialism and transferred that right in a terrifyingly frivolous manner to other sociopolitical forces that used socialist slogans for expedient purposes -- in fact for the struggle against the forces of real socialism. It goes without saying that the party could not and did not allow itself to be expropriated of its historical achievements. One lesson of that experience is that the people, especially young people, are a severe and ruthless judge when evaluating the compatibility between the theory and practice of socialism.

But let us take a look at the young people themselves. They have many genuine socioeconomic needs that we are still unable to meet. The most important of them are the needs for development, influence, and security. They need development, which they understand as the opportunity for social and vocational advancement such as would be advantageous to the people and to them.

They need influence, which they understand as an awareness of the cause-and-effect link between the conduct of the citizen and the state of social and political affairs (the lack of such a link gives rise to alienation, including the alienation of generations, and to other phenomena). They need security, which denotes personal as well as social and vocational security. I think this is the need that we are able to meet to a fuller extent than any other.

However, the needs of young people and our potential to meet them are only one side of the coin. Representing my peers in the party, I more frequently encounter another problem, which is illustrated by the question whether the young generation, about which everyone speaks with such concern, is now a carrier of truly new ideas. solutions, and proposals -- "new," "its own," and "development" proposals -- or whether it is a spokesman for its own needs and expectations. I think that answers such as "no" or "yes" are not consistent with reality, although the features of both situations are present in social life. It is worth recalling those passages of the history of the workers movement in Poland that indicate that the leading echelons of the party included very young people. Maria Bohuszewiczowna was 19 when she was in charge of the party. Wera Kostrzewa and Warynski were also very young. I think that the experience of history allows me to state that young people's impact on social life and public affairs will be inadequate as long as they are only ready to assume responsibility for so-called "youth's ideals, affairs, and interests" and when they give an exceptional status to separate generation aims. The situation may be radically improved only if young people -- as has already been the case historically, that is, during the years of Poland's reconstruction and the establishment of the foundations of people's rule -- assume responsibility for the interests and future of the entire country and when they are able to work and fight for another, better socialist Poland in the party and in other social organizations.

I am convinced that I am saying nothing false if I state that today the youth functionaries in various socialist sociopolitical forces are unable to formulate concepts for the future to fit in with the aspirations of their peers and that this task is still before us. We can fulfill it not by countering the program of the party and the socialist state by some generation program, but through specifically developing the ninth congress program, through increasing the impact of the youth aktivs on the program of the party and the state, and through imparting to this program the features that correspond to the state of the young generations' awareness and aspirations. In this way it is possible to meet the need for development and influence and to preserve the proper character of the Marxist-Leninist party -- the integration party. Of key significance in this regard are efforts to improve the activities of the socialist youth movement, which is ideologically linked to the party, and of the state bodies responsible for implementing the social policy vis-a-vis the young people. I think that it is also necessary for us as a party to learn to promote programmatic activities in the social organizations that do not define themselves as youth, political, or ideoeducational organizations, but in which there are millions of young people (such as the Sports Association of Students, the People's Sports Association, the Society for Promotion of Physical Culture, the Academic Sport Association, and so on). In this way we can demonstrate to young people the values of our society and system with the help of the results of the performance of those organizations. We must also learn to use a language that those people who are less educated and less socially aware can understand. It is certainly well worth recalling the skills of the old activists in the Polish Communist Party, the Polish Workers Party, the Communist Union of Polish Youth, and the Independent Peasant Party. These activists often exploited the gathering of people, following a church mass, for making programmatic speeches from a cart or an upright barrel, radicalizing the masses, and attracting them to the ideals of social progress.

Comrade Karwat's statement included the question of what to do to ensure that young people "do not stick out their buttocks at us." I do not think that this question is particularly crucial or that it includes everything. The most important question is:

What to do that young people "do not stick out their buttocks" at themselves and at their own future?

The attitudes and behavior of some young people that we were able to observe not so long ago are typical examples of how to harm oneself and the present and future interests of the young generation. This means harming the implementation of social prosperity, the rehabilitation of Poland's significance in the socialist community and in Europe, and the implementation of the needs of modern society. At all times that political rows take place in Poland and among young people, our closest neighbors and Europe do not wait for us to end our quarrels, but continue to forge ahead rapidly. Failing to see this and to learn lessons from it means that young people do harm themselves. If only recapturing young people's support for the party were at stake, the problem facing us would be a difficult one -- but it would be more difficult to make this plain to the young people. What is much more disturbing is that it is difficult to gain some young people's support for their own future. I do not think that we should burden the young generation with some special responsibility. The young generation is to a great extent a matter that can be shaped up by the skills and resolution of the sculptor and by educational attitudes.

I think that the only way of overcoming the negative phenomena among some young people is to create a sociopolitical mechanism that I would define as a system of mutual influence. There would be the influence of the youth aktivs of the party and the socialist youth unions on their peers, colleagues, and friends in order to win their understanding and support for socialism and the party program, and there would be the influence of young people on the program and political practice of the party and the socialist state with the help of their peers in the PZPR and in the socialist youth unions. As long as the mechanism of such mutual influence does not function, and as long as one-way militancy and influence are promoted, the situation will run away from young people's aspirations and from the party's ideology.

That is why we are looking for new solutions, which are indispensable. The consistent implementation of the ninth plenum resolution, the results of the All-Poland Conference of the PZPR Youth Aktivs in Gdansk Olivia, the Central Committee Secretariat's directives on the organizational principles of work with youth aktivs of the party and the socialist youth unions, the 13th plenum, and the new principles of cadre policy are and will be of help in this. We are making these efforts not to "buy" the young people or to shock them by the originality of new solutions. We are making these efforts because we have found ourselves at a new stage of socialist construction. That is why the present verified methods must be enriched by new elements consistent with the new times and needs. We can regain the trust of and influence on people only if we assume innovating initiatives that are in line with the changed conditions of activity and with social expectations. How far can young people sponsor these initiatives? The answer to this question depends mainly on young people themselves. The constitutional solutions of our political system and the party's ideology and program make it fully possible for young people to regain their active role in socialist construction and in building the bridgeheads of a communist society. I would like to add a few words on the issue of the numerical strength of young people in the party because the nationwide discussions and this discussion continue to charge that there are not many young people in the party and the youth movement. We must not pooh-pooh the issue of the numerical strength of the youth movement, but we should realize that almost 30 percent of young people are in various organizations. From the viewpoint of social life and assuming that those few millions of young Poles are people who are conscious of their aims and interests, the socialist youth movement is a force that not only can represent the young generation, but also lead young people in their study, work, and recreation. Our party, which is more than 2.5 billion strong, includes about 700,000 members of up to 35 years of age. This is a large force. A shortage of people is not the main problem facing us.

I see our basic task in reconstructing the ideological life in the ranks of young members of the PZPR and the socialist youth unions, especially among young workers and the young intelligentsia. All other ideopolitical conditions for rehabilitating the initiative of young people and their representation in social life have been adequately ensured.

Tomasz Chruszczow:

My almost daily observations of young people as a senior member of the Polish Scout Union show that they not only accept, but identify themselves outright with principles of socialism. They have a very naive idea of all the values mentioned here -- equality, justice, rationalism, and democracy. They have also their own vision of naive socialism based on their own feelings. This kind of socialism is, of course, not based on any scientific foundations. My observations are no great shakes and nothing new, but it would be useful if such "discoveries" finally made an impact on the ideological work of the party and youth unions.

What other features distinguish the young people? They are distinguished above all by their enormous radicalism and abandonment, which, combined with their "naive socialism," produce the negation of reality. It was precisely those features that attracted young people to "Solidarity," a movement that was very like them in the way of temperament. Like young people, Solidarity succumbed to impulsiveness and was noisy, visible everywhere, and at times irrational.

Added to this is an absolute inability to comprehend the term "socialist democracy." I am convinced that this is the most glaring sin of our schools, social organizations, and the party. This sin is the fact that our people do not properly understand the notion of socialist democracy. The view prevails that this notion is a skillful ideological manipulation perpetrated by this regime [rezym] to deceive the naive public and to promote feelings of complacency among the functionaries of this regime to the effect that they are nevertheless democratic.

Most often our people interpret the notion of democracy as it is practiced in the bourgeois countries, that is, they identify it with pluralism, with the free play of political forces, and with what under our conditions would amount to the destruction of the socialist state.

Danuta Mika:

The seventies produced a crucial weakening of young people's ideological life. Educational work was superficial and declaratory. The political knowledge supplied to young people had mostly nothing in common with daily life. This ignorance was augmented by tolerance toward bourgeois and antisocialist attitudes, which were based exclusively on the Western models of life, by the simplified presentation of the history of the people and the state, by pooh-poohing the need to spread knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, and by the declaratory and sham presentation of the class character of the state. All that has contributed to the present state of our young people's awareness.

I will tell you about the efforts made by the party voivodship cell in Walbrzych to intensify the development of young people's internationalist attitudes. Last January the cell organized a symposium and meetings in Walbrzych, Klodzko, and Dzierzoniow on that subject. These meetings catered to pupils from secondary schools, on the one hand, and teachers (mainly teachers of history, civics, and Russian), on the other.

The meetings were attended by representatives of the Soviet schools based with the Northern Group of the Soviet Army (the inspector and deputy inspector of the Soviet schools in Poland and the headmasters of Soviet schools in Swidnik and Legnica), and by the inspector and head of the methodical institute from Hradec Kralove in Czechoslovakia. The atmosphere of the meetings with pupils and with teachers showed considerable differences. The pupils demonstrated correct attitudes of behavior and discussion militancy. They expressed their praise for exchanges of pupils in summer camps, asked for possibilities for making contacts with Soviet and Czechoslovak youngsters, and showed interest in the foreign labor corps.

As for the meetings with teachers, it must be said that, despite a large attendance of 70-90 persons in each town, the activeness of the participants was unsatisfactory. As a rule they listened passively to the speeches made by the guests and by a representative of the Inspectorate of Education on the subject of patriotic and internationalist training in individual countries and in our voivodship. Although they cordially received the guests, our teachers did not demonstrate an adequate commitment to that topical and difficult problem. What then will be the development of young people's internationalist attitudes if their educators are unable, or perhaps do not want, to exploit an opportunity for exchanging experience on and discussing that subject; this means that it is necessary to work not only with young people, but also with teachers.

Zbigniew Sobotka:

The situation of the community of young workers continues to be extremely differentiated. Moods continue to change and attitudes to vary. Trust in the party is still lacking. The attitude of the workers community toward the ZSMP is not always influenced by this organization itself. Many determining factors that have nothing to do with that organization are in play. That the present appraisal of the ZSMP is what it is is the fault of the organization and its functionaries and the many errors they made in the previous period. The absence of a reliable knowledge of history and politics and the lack of training in polemics with the ideological adversary within the organization itself have been responsible for a serious slump in its authority and in the number of its members.

At present most young people believe in the consumerist attitude toward reality, in negating the phenomena they see, and in refusing to participate in political and social life. Aggressive attitudes and mistrust are the results of such an approach to present changes.

Bad propaganda is a crucial element that produces negative attitudes and intensifies the distrust of the party. Bad propaganda often produces aversion. The way it resorts on the plans of the authorities is clumsy. That is why the abyss between the young people's aspirations and mentality and the proposed solutions continues to increase. Propaganda does not fulfill its basic role, does not reach minds, and does not induce the acceptance of current decisions. Propaganda does not see all the changes that have occurred in the mentality and aspirations of the young workers class.

We hope that the comprehensive program for solutions and initiatives, which is called POLIN 90 and which has been adopted by the ZSMP, will trigger many initiatives to promote the innovation movement among young workers, will encourage them to search for new, better production solutions, and as a result, will improve working and living conditions.

Sylwester Szafarz:

I would like to discuss the internal and external factors in the process of bringing up young Poles and in the performance of their organizations. There is no doubt that it is necessary for our young people to study and comprehend Marx. Others should also do so. At times I note with incredulity the enormous extent to which young people's awareness has been devastated in the past few years, especially in view of the fact that that devastation had been prepared by the neglect of previous periods. This evil has been reinforced by the anti-Marxist campaign, which has been most intensive in the past few months, and by the activities of various neo-Marxists or "correctors" of Marx such as Adam Schaff.

My observations and talks with young people make it obvious that the devastation caused by the aforementioned factors in young people's minds is enormous. Frankly, I really do not know how we should set about "bringing Marxism back to young people's awareness." Probably we will have to begin from scratch, from A, B, C! As for the state of young people's spirits and awareness, the present situation is exceptionally complicated and difficult. In this situation we should consider the possibility of publishing a theoretical-political monthly of the Polish youth unions -- something like NOWE DROGI for young people. In such a publication we could present and analyze the current theoretical problems for the benefit of young readers. Some people say -- and what they say is the least that can be said -- that at the present stage it does not matter whether young people agree or disagree with Marx. What matters is that they should want to get acquainted with Marx on the same principle as Marx is studied by church circles, which have produced many excellent experts in Marxism. The thing is: Will young people want to study Marx?! In the present situation the manifestations of anti-Marxism in young people's attitudes are irrational because their knowledge of Marx is insufficient. The simple fact is that they do not know what Marxism is. We must gradually and patiently overcome this state of awareness.

The second group of problems is represented by the need to decisively improve the young Pole's image abroad. The losses we have suffered in this regard in the past few years are enormous. Making good these losses is an important condition for rehabilitating the traditional position of the Polish youth movement in Europe and the world, especially in the international movement of democratic youth. This task is especially important and urgent with regard to young people in the socialist countries, because these people think of the "average" young Pole as an individual given to anarchy, one who is unwilling to work, and who does not know how to work, and one who has to be assisted to keep alive. This is augmented by the fact that people in the socialist countries think that the training, including internationalist training, of young Poles is neglected and defective, that young Poles are "extremely religious" and "orientated toward the West," that drug addiction among them is increasing, and so on and so forth. At times, such stereotyped views are greatly exaggerated and injurious, but it is a fact that a certain barrier of distrust and suspicion toward young Poles on the part of the young people in other socialist countries has been erected. To put that more plainly: Even if a young Pole speaks to his peer in a socialist country about Marx, this peer will not believe him, but will think that deep in his soul the Pole is a Catholic and a champion of individual farming. We must eliminate most speedily those bunched up misunderstandings and that barrier of distrust.

The situation is even worse insofar as the young Pole's image in the eyes of the young people in the capitalist countries, especially in the West European countries, is concerned. The young Pole's image, with which those young people have been fed with special intensity in the past few years, is particularly tendentious and distorted. The dominant feature of this image is the fact that young Poles are presented as an insubordinate and "hurrah-patriotic" element and as individuals who throw stones at things and are immersed in prayers. Intensive efforts are being made to present the young Pole as someone who wants to escape to the West by every means, who hijacks planes, jumps into the Kiel Canal, and stays behind in the West, having attended a soccer match there. In a word, that image presents the young Pole as antiparty, antigovernment, and anti-Soviet, but pro-West. The Western experts in so-called black propaganda have had a great time in promoting just that image of the young Pole in the past few years. They have sought to achieve a single main aim -- to make socialism a hideous system in the eyes of young people and nations in the Western countries. In some ways we have made it easier for them to do so because we have supplied them with all kinds of materials for this purpose, especially in the form of movies and sound [not further specified]. This fact has made the situation of young people in the Western countries extremely difficult and is hindering their activities. This is also true of the young Poles born abroad, especially of the progressive and communist segment of them.

This is also negatively affecting our "standing" in the Western countries, because "traditional" anti-Polish propaganda, which presents a Pole as a lazy bone, a drunkard, and a thief (the so-called Polish jokes or Polnische Wirtschaft -- Polish management), has been recently reinforced by terms such as anachronistic clericalism, irrational romanticism, a lack of responsibility for words and deeds, and so on. We have to make good a tremendous lot in this regard. This is a task for many years, especially as it is impossible to pooh-pooh the saying that one is judged by one's appearance.

Jacek Raciborski:

At this time every kind of young people's activity conducted within the law and by legal organization is important. The attitude of "internal withdrawal" is in fact an idea produced by the intelligentsia, and we must concede that this attitude is rather widespread within the intelligentsia. However, we should not assume that because it has been produced by the intelligentsia that idea is not very harmful. Actually, the attitude in question denotes a desperate attempt to preserve and consolidate aversion to or outright hatred of communist rule. This is a dangerous attitude because the intelligentsia is so situated within the social division of labor that it can influence the views of other people with exceptional ease, which means that the phenomenon of opposition would continue even if the basic economic reasons for it disappeared all of a sudden. I am saying this to demonstrate against a broader background the efforts made by the Polish Student Association to activize students.

Krzysztof Maczka:

Most of what I wanted to say here has already been said, but certain issues should be given more attention. I will speak about youth organizations, including party organizations. There is no doubt that in the Armed Forces there have been fewer admissions to youth organizations after 1980. Trying to make good these losses and wishing all the time to win for our youth organizations the young men doing national service, we had to take some measures.

What we wanted to do was not to feed those young men from the very first with some high ideology, but to conduct specific activities that would attract them to us. We wanted to show them what our organizations were doing and to prove to them that they are for them and see to their interests.

Many of the speakers before me spoke about ideological training. Let me tell you how we do that in the Armed Forces. First of all, we promote tourism and cultural-educational activities and only then do we gradually introduce the members to the sphere of ideology. We do that not only with the help of meetings or conferences with young soldiers. It is a fact that every superior does this job in his own sector. This may take place even during target practice or anywhere else.

Bozena Jaworska:

I would like to draw your attention to the world outlook of young people, the extent of their laicization, and their attitude toward religion and the church. We must not pass over these issues in silence or treat them hypocritically and equivocally, especially when young members of the party and youth organizations are involved. That is certainly not the main problem, but it is an important one. We all know that the party, youth organizations, and all larger communities comprise people of greater and lesser intellectual, cultural, and educational standards. Some of them find it easier to understand the laws that govern the world, nature, and societies and possess more or less firm scientific views of the world.

It is that and the various family traditions that produce the attitudes of party members, especially young party members, toward religious beliefs and practices.

It is natural that educated young people and the young intelligentsia in the party are less prone to religious beliefs and rarely participate in religious practices. This is especially true of the people who have some political experience and who hold certain functions in the party, the state, and social organizations.

Their standards of knowledge, experience of life, and ideological commitment often go hand in hand in daily life with atheistic attitudes and materialistic views. Regardless to which extent young party members attend religious practices formally or genuinely, none of them should participate in propagating and spreading religion. In a word, none of them should engage in clerical-agitation activities. The party and youth organizations should create an atmosphere that would help the people with shaky views of the world to profoundly and permanently understand and practice scientific atheism. However, this is not a question of prohibiting religious practices. This is a long-term process through which one becomes consciously ripe to embrace the socialist view of the world. By way of self-criticism it should be said that for a long time we have not created the necessary conditions for that.

Zbigniew Sobotka:

The supreme aim of the political opposition in Poland is to divert people's attention from the problems that have to be solved and from constructive activities and positive programs. Encouraging destruction and fanning illusions that the West and external forces will help us is the aim of all antisocialist forces.

Actually, it is not only antisocialist forces that have such an aim. There are many honest young people who continue to keep alive the aforementioned illusions and mistakenly believe thqt dollar assistance for individual farmers will restore our agriculture and that some kind of "Polish Hong Kong" and the sellout of Polish enterprises to capitalist firms operating in Poland will work some kind of miracle. All that is a misunderstanding and dangerous illusion. Everything depends on us, on our reliable work, discipline, organization, and skills. This is how we should develop the awareness and attitudes of young Poles. That is why we now need so much a positive program and young Poles' positive attitude to life and work. Above all we need positive activities and positive deeds. Fighting political opponents is not enough. While fighting them it is necessary above all to know how to positively solve the small and big problems of our life as a society.

Young people's problems are part and parcel of the problems of all our people and the entire country. Young people's problems are merely a more glaring aspect of the problems of all the people. It is necessary to solve those problems together with all the people. This is the way to work and fight.

BRIEFS

SOVIET TRADE TO EXPAND -- Warsaw 20 Feb -- Poland's trade turnover with the Soviet Union exceeded 10 billion rubles last year. Arrangements for this year provide for mutual deliveries amounting to about 10.8 billion rubles. Polish exports are to grow by 13 percent and to exceed 5 billion roubles. Planned is some lack of balance in trade with the Soviet partner but Poland's deficit will be considerably lower than at the beginning of the 1980's. As before, Poland's chief exports to the Soviet Union will include machines and equipment. The Soviet Union is the main foreign market to a number of Polish factories. It is necessary to further broaden and diversify Poland's export offer since in the near future Poland is planning to start the repayment of debts incurred in the Soviet Union over last years. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 20 Feb 84 LD]

TUG FOR USSR -- Szczecin -- Another ship in the series of deep sea tugs, M/S Nieftiegez 9, was launched in the Szczecin shipyard yesterday. Like the previous ones she is destined for the Soviet Union. [Text] [Warsaw International Service in English 1200 GMT 18 Feb 84 LD]

PROTOCOL WITH HUNGARIAN JOURNALISTS -- A protocol on cooperation between journalist organizations of Poland and Hungary that envisages an exchange of journalists and their participation in ventures organized by the two organizations in 1984 has been signed in Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 17 Feb 84 LD]

ANTIPROFITEERING OPERATIONS -- Last year the Citizens Militia conducted 21 national antiprofiteering operations. They were aimed at combating offences that were most irritating to consumers and disorganized the market. In the process of the operations 10,860 offenses were revealed, which were damaging for the consumer. More than 87,000 misdemeanors were also revealed. Goods worth about Z140 million which had been hidden from the consumer were found in trade centers. Goods worth Z520 million, which were the object of profiteering were seized and disposed of by courts and misdemeanor courts. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 15 Feb 84 LD]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES INDIAN TRADE MINISTER

AU171836 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1756 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1984 -- President Nicolae Ceausescu received on February 17 Vishwanath Pratap Singh, minister of commerce of the Republic of India, chairman for his country of the Joint Romanian-Indian Government Commission on Economic, Technological and Scientific Cooperation that had proceedings in Bucharest. The interview occasioned an exchange of greetings between Romania's president and Indian Premier Indira Gandhi.

During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the upward course of the Romanian-Indian political, economic, technologic, scientific and other kinds of relations and the mutual wish was expressed for the amplification of the bilateral relations. The results of the current session were appreciated, as it disclosed new opportunities, ways and means for the consolidation of the Romanian-Indian collaboration on multiple planes. Emphasis was placed on the broad possibilities of collaboration and cooperation offered by the developing economies of Romania and India.

Approached were also current issues of international life. In particular, emphasis was placed on the grave dangers spelt at peace by the arms race, nuclear arming in particular, and on the need for strengthened collaboration among the developing and non-aligned countries, among all states in the struggle for halting the arms race, for the endorsement of firm disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament in particular, for the peaceful settlement of all conflicts in various parts of the world, the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new economic order, relying on full equality and equity in inter-state relations.

The interview proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

Protocol Signed

AU172059 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1984 -- The proceedings of the seventh session of the Joint Romanian-Indian Government Commission on Economics, Technical and Scientific Cooperation concluded on Friday, February 17, in Bucharest.

The two delegates, led by Neculai Agachi, Romanian minister of metallurgical industry, and V.P. Singh, Indian minister of commerce, analyzed and agreed upon other domains and ventures, apt to help the further development of the economic and technical cooperation, as well as the expansion and diversification of the trade exchanges in the interests of both countries and peoples.

At the close of the proceedings the co-chairmen of the commission signed the protocol of the session.

The Indian minister had interviews with Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Ioan Avram, minister of machine-building industry. During the interviews, satisfaction was expressed at the upward evolution of the Romanian-Indian economic relations. Emphasis was placed on the possibilities offered by the two countries' economies for the development of the collaboration and cooperation in domains of mutual interest.

UPPER VOLTA FOREIGN MINISTER ENDS OFFICIAL VISIT

Meeting With Ceausescu

AU172054 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1984 -- On February 17, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu received Hama Arba Diallo, minister of foreign affairs of Upper Volta Republic, now visiting Bucharest. The interview was attended by Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a warm message of friendship from the Voltaic head of state Thomas Sankara. The foreign minister conveyed the feelings of admiration nurtured by the head of state of Upper Volta for President Nicolae Ceausescu for his and Romania's activity for the lessening of tension in Europe and in the world, for the affirmation of the policy of independence, equality, collaboration and peace among nations. Thanking, President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a warm salute to the Voltaic head of state.

Emphasis was placed during the interview on the good relations between the two countries and the common will was expressed for developing these relations, for starting and materializing cooperation ventures in mining, transportation, agriculture and others on mutually advantageous bases. Within the exchange of views on international matters, they highlighted the need for action to be taken for the improvement of the world political climate, the halting of the arms race, the nuclear one in particular, for the salvation of peace on our planet. Both parties expressed militant solidarity with the Namibia's independence and the building of a united country under the SWAPO (South-West African People's Organization] leadership, for the abolition of the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

In connection with the existence of military conflicts in various regions of the globe stress was laid on the need to settle all interstate disputed issues only by peaceful means, by negotiations. As most of the African states are developing countries, emphasis was placed on the need to strengthen the unity of the countries in that continent, a role incumbent on the Organization of African Unity in the ensurance and consolidation of their solidarity and independence.

The serious consequences of the world recession, of discriminatory practices, of the grouping disproportions between the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods, of the growth of foreign debts and of the policy of high interest rates were stressed and the need for the consolidation of the unity and collaboration between the developing countries was reiterated so as to develop a joint strategy in the negotiations with the developed countries, find the ways and means to financially back the developing countries, halt the implementation of their plans of economic development and the decrease of foreign debts for the establishment of international economic relations based on full equality and equity and of a new international economic order.

The interview passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Talks Concluded

AU182022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/2/1984 -- Hama Arba Diallo, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Upper Volta, concluded his official visit to Romania on February 18.

During his visit, the guest conducted talks with Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei, Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Vasile Bulucea, minister of transport and telecommunications, Ioan Lazarescu, minister of mines, and Mihail Aldea, deputy minister of health, on the specific ways and means of developing the collaboration between the two states, especially of increasing commercial exchanges and expanding economic cooperation in mining, agriculture, transport and other fields.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES NEW CSSR AMBASSADOR 20 FEB

AU201955 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 20/2/1984 -- On February 20, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Jan Papp who presented his letters of credence as ambassador of Czechoslovakia to Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of greetings between the party and state leaders of the two countries.

After pointing to the fraternal relations between Czechoslovakia and Romania, the ambassador highlighted in his address that the Romanian-Czechoslovak friendship and cooperation had as common ground the socialist system, the ideology and joint aims of building socialism and communism.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak Government and people, the address stresses, are highly appreciative of the steady deepening and manysided development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak cooperation.

In his address the Romanian head of state highlighted that the RCP, the Romanian people paid special attention to the development of the relations of friendship and manysided cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, and expressed the belief that, through joint efforts, those relations would further expand for mutual benefit, in the interest of socialist construction in Romania and Czechoslovakia, of the general cause of socialism, international peace and cooperation.

Deeply concerned over the mounting tension in the international life Romania, the address points out, consistently militates for a policy of peace and collaboration, of detente, for the reduction and, eventually, the elimination of nuclear missiles from the European Continent, for the building of a united Europe of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons.

The policy of broad collaboration is highlighted Romania promotes with all socialist countries, with developing and non-aligned countries, with all the states of the world, irrespective of social system, in the spirit and on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

CEAUSESCU, NEW PLO REPRESENTATIVE EXAMINE SUPPORT

AU202003 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 20/2/1984 -- On Monday, February 20, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received 'Izzat Abu Ar-Rub, who presented his credentials as permanent representative of the PLO in Bucharest.

Handing over his credentials, the PLO permanent representative conveyed Romania's president a warm salute and best wishes on behalf of Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In his address, the ambassador highlighted the fine relations between the Palestinian and Romanian peoples with emphasis on the fact that the active participation of Socialist Romania, under the wise leadership of its president, Nicolae Ceausescu, in the process of finding global, just and lasting solutions to the Middle East situation bore positively on the course of events in the area and contributed to lessening tension and strengthening security and peace throughout the world. He also pointed to the high appreciation enjoyed by Romania's constant support to the just cause of the Palestinian people, to its fight for the attainment of its national targets.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed Chairman Yasir 'Arafat a warm, friendly salute and best wishes of good health and happiness, of peace and prosperity for the Palestinian people.

In his address, the Romanian head of state highlighted the highly complex character of the current international situation, the mounting tension, the aggravation of the old conflicts and the emergence of new ones, the great dangers threatening mankind's existence. In that context, he emphasized the need for everything possible to be done to solve litigious issues directly concerned. He also showed that Romania had always declared firmly for a global settlement of the situation in the Middle East, for a just and durable peace grounded on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, the resolution of the Palestinian people's question on the basis of its right to self-determination and the setting up of its own independent state, on guaranteed independence and sovereignty for all the states in the area.

The Romanian president also emphasized the importance of ensuring the unity of the Palestinian movement and of achieving, on a broader scale, the unity of action of the Arab countries in their efforts for the establishment of peace in the area. The Romanian head of state wished the new PLO permanent representative success in the mission entrusted to him and assured him of the full support of the State Council and the Government of Romania, as well as of his own support.

At the end of the ceremony, a cordial talk took place between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the PLO permament representative.

OPREA, EGYPTIAN BANKING OFFICIAL DISCUSS TRADE

AU171838 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1801 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 17/2/1984 -- Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, received on February 17 Ahmad Fu'ad, chairman of the Joint Romanian-Egyptian Bank, with whom he discussed questions related to the financial-banking and foreign trade relations between the two countries.

OPREA RECEIVES IRANIAN OFFICIAL, VIEWS COOPERATION

AU201845 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1707 GMT 20 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 20/2/1984 -- Gheorghe Oprea, Romanian first deputy prime minister, received on Monday, February 20, Rostam Zamir, general manager of the "Bongah-e Tose'eh" state-owned firm in Iran, with whom he approached questions related to the development of cooperation in the field of farm machinery between Romanian relevant enterprises and the Iranian firm.

ASSESSMENT OF CHERNENKO STATEMENTS, POLICIES

'Leninist Continuity' Claim

LD182128 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Yuriy Andropov died only about 20 days after the historical date of the 60th anniversary of the death of Vladimir Ilich Lenin and all Soviet obituaries and the inaugural speech of the new General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko speak of the so-called Leninist continuity of the Soviet party. Here is Zrnka Novak:

Naturally, when we speak about Lenin and Leninism, and when the Italian Communists speak about it, or even the Hungarian Marxists, it is not the same thing. But there are even greater differences if we compare all this with what official Soviet historiography or party propaganda understands by the concept of Leninism. Such pluralism in the interpretation of the same concepts characterizes the reality of the present situation in the international workers movement, and for the moment it is impossible to establish without unhelpful political consequences which interpretation is the most correct -- or better, the most influential for the world process of socialism. Nearer the truth would be the claim that interpretations of Leninism and Marxism are diverging, that they are subject to change, because it seems that no one in the contemporary history of the workers movement has been completely spared from the long night of the Stalinist era.

However, if for some the awakening was signified by 1948, or for others by Mikoyan's speech at the 20th CPSU Congress, or an encounter with the polemical writings of the reawakened Soviet historiography, of (?Berdyayev) and (?Solovyev), it should be said that that awakening is not finished. It is not finished in the land of Vladimir Ilich, the first land of socialism.

Thus, every change in the Soviet leadership after the death of Stalin has posed identical questions for the world's workers movement: Can there be renewal and continuity of Leninist principles? Can there be a revival of that lively, revolutionary, critical-polemical practice which, in the conditions of backward post-tsarist Russia, instigated the revolution of which millions of European workers had dreamed.

In the Kremlin, where Vladimir Ilich Lenin worked tirelessly 6 decades ago, transforming theoretical assumptions into history with an exceptional awareness of reality, Yuriy Andropov died a few days ago, having tried in his notably short mandate at the helm of the party and country to renew that important characteristic of his brilliant predecessor, his sense of time and reality. In a country in which everything has always been gigantic, from geography to the apparatus of authority, a country which is slow to progress from the Gogolian government inspectors or governor figures recorded in the pages of Russian literature, such a sense of time and reality has revolutionary importance. It is a prerequisite for the necessary changes in economics, in party policy, in opening up internal democracy, and in more effective and less defensive interaction with other socialist countries and systems.

In his inaugural speech Konstantin Chernenko emphasized the continuity of Leninist principles. Continuity can certainly originate from the inspired schemes left by Yuriy Andropov during his all-too-short mandate, but a complete, further revival of Leninist principles and practice would demand of the Soviet party even greater opening up, greater transparency, greater readiness for constructive critical appraisals, and above all the continuation of analytical historiographic work that uncompromisingly parts company with the deformations of the period of the Stalinist past.

Talks With Foreign Leaders

LD172208 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 17 Feb 84

[By Slavko Stanic]

[Text] Moscow, February 17 (TANJUG) -- The new head of the Soviet party, Konstantin Chernenko, has begun his international activities by initiating a summit of the party and state heads of East European countries. In this way he has in practice demonstrated the argument he put forward at the extraordinary plenum that "success in struggling for peace to a greater degree depends on the amount of influence the socialist countries exert in the international arena".

The fact that Chernenko first had talks with the leaders of East European countries shows that the change in the Soviet party top will itself not bring any changes on the external policy plane. The meeting will most probably be soon repeated since preparations for a CEMA summit at the highest political level have been brought to a close. Chernenko's meeting with the heads of Vietnam, Cuba, Afghanistan and Nicaragua early this week are indicative of the continuity of Soviet foreign policy. The new Soviet party leader also met with top officials of all West European countries, the U.S. and Canada, who attended the Andropov funeral. However, although, the Soviet side does not question the usefulness of Chernenko's meeting with U.S. Vice President George Bush, it is believed that the Kremlin's accumulated mistrust toward the White House over the reduction of the two superpowers' nuclear arsenal has not been relieved.

The Moscow meetings and talks have asserted another priority of the Soviet foreign policy -- the normaliation of relations with China. The talk between Soviet Deputy Vice-Chairman Aliyev and Chinese Vice-Premier Wan Li, although beneficial, promises no spectacular turns.

Funeral Meetings Examined

AU201611 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Feb 84

[From the "Sunday at 10" program: "studio discussion" between Dragan Colovic, Belgrade radio foreign relations editor, and Milika Sundic -- recorded]

[Text] [Colovic] Colleague Sundic, how do you assess the talks the new Soviet leader had with Western statesmen, particularly U.S. Vice President Bush, in the context of the present state of relations between the East and the West and the two superpowers?

[Sundic] Well, in my opinion the talks that Konstantin Chernenko had with foreign statesmen were not only concerned with the occasion, but were also concrete. This impression is gained after assessments which Western statesman gave about their meetings with the Soviet leader. In my opinion, it is quite understandable that Konstantin Chernenko -- this probably was the plan of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo -- devoted most attention to the talks with the Western leaders. As it was reported, he devoted 30 minutes to each separately, and it is quite clear and understandable that the meeting with George Bush attracted the most attention from the international public.

[Colovic] In the context of the new, positive tones which were uttered at a time when words are used carefully, even among the most vile opponents, can one expect some changes in U.S.-Soviet relations?

[Sundic] Judging by what Vice President Bush and President Reagan said about this meeting, it appears that with certain efforts, Soviet-U.S. relations may return to a normal track.

The tone of the talks, in Bush's assessment, was friendly and cordial, because the desire was expressed on both sides for the two superpowers to overcome some of the disagreements, which in my judgment still does not mean that one can talk about a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

[Colovic] At Andropov's funeral, the West was represented at a high level indeed. Let me recall: U.S. Vice President Bush, British Prime Minister Thatcher, FRG Chancellor Kohl, Italian President Pertini, French Premier Mauroy, Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau, and others. How is this high representation of the West explained?

[Sundic] The extent to which the Soviet Union was preoccupied by the talks with the Western statesmen, Bush and the others, is indicated by the fact that some meetings which were supposed to be held did not take place. This shows to what extent Moscow is preoccupied with relations with the West and what the reduction of tension with the other superpower, the United States, means for it at this moment. If, however, one seeks a proper answer to the question why there was such Western participation at Yuriy Andropov's funeral, which was not the case 15 months ago at Brezhnev's funeral, one nevertheless feels that it does not present a proper picture of the state of relations between the two blocs.

In my assessment, the West wanted to show its interest in contacts with Moscow, and it wanted even more to check how much Moscow is willing to yield and where it stands at the present moment, that is to say, the moment of change in the Soviet top political leadership. In any case, the check by the two sides can be considered successful, although the road to a proper dialogue is still very far away. It can be said, however, that the ice has been broken and that getting to know Chernenko was useful for both sides, for Chernenko was also able to sense what the Western countries intend to do in the coming months. Probably he will not hurry with the idea suggested to him, to meet Reagan, but it appears that he also will not hesitate to encourage contacts at other levels if the Western ountries, especially the United States, will show more flexibility toward Moscow.

[Colovic] Moscow has not yet taken a position on the flood of positive and optimistic statements in the West on meetings with the new Soviet leader. Why not?

[Sundic] Yes, it is correct to say that Moscow has indeed not yet taken a position on statements by Western statesmen on their meetings with Chernenko, but one need not expect that it will hurry to do so. In any case, it seems that it is not disturbed by the positive assessments of the Moscow talks....

[Colovic] They suit it.

[Sundic] In fact, they suit it, just as do the hopes which some people have that it will be much easier to get on with Chernenko than it was with Yuriy Andropov.

[Colovic] Colleague Sundic, if we proceed from the logical assumption that a shift must happen in U.S.-Soviet relations -- if one wishes to avoid the worst, which both superpowers assert they wish and strive to avoid -- what could this mean for the rest of the world?

[Sundic] Good relations between the two superpowers and the two blocs do not always mean a real relaxation of the tension in the world. On the other hand, good relations between the two superpowers and between the two blocs encourage hopes and indicate the possibilities that the world could turn to solving key international political and economic problems, and that good relations between Moscow and Washington -- under the condition that these relations are not based on harm to anybody -- could contribute to reducing existing international tension.

[Colovic] Colleague Sundic, thank you.

[Sundic] Thank you.

PRESIDENCY VIEWS SPILJAK U.S. VISIT, USSR CONTACTS

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[Pool item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 18 (TANJUG) -- Joint interest in the further development of friendly relations and promotion of comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and parties was stressed in the contacts between top state and party leaders of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union early this week, it was noted at today's (Saturday) session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The session, chaired by Mika Spiljak, the president of the Presidency, also reviewed and adopted information on his coming official and friendly visits to the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Yemen Arab Republic and the Yemen People's Democratic Republic.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia also noted that Spiljak's recent visit to the United States constituted a favourable contribution to the development of bilateral cooperation in all spheres of mutual interest on the known principles of equality, non-interference and mutual respect, which were reaffirmed also on this occasion as a lasting basis of relations and cooperation between the two countries.

The session was informed that newly elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Konstantin Chernenko had renewed the invitations to the president of the Presidency of the SFRY and the president of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to visit the Soviet Union. An earlier visit to the Soviet Union by member of the state Presidency Vidoje Zarkovic, set for the end of February, was confirmed.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia also stressed the importance of the talks which President of the Presidency Spiljak had with President Reagan and other distinguished members of the U.S. Government and Congress, in continuation of the top-level dialogue between the two countries which at the same time constituted a contribution to better mutual understanding.

During the U.S.-Yugoslav talks, President of the Presidency Spiljak and his aides expressed grave concern at the present highly unfavourable state of international political and economic relations. Spiljak also stressed the need for, and the importance of, a renewal of negotiations and of the quest for solutions to topical world issues, as advocated, especially, by the Movement of Non-Alignment.

The session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia assessed as favourable the talks which the Yugoslav delegation had had with the representatives of business and financial circles in the United States. Both sides in these talks noted prospects for the promotion of trade, financial and industrial cooperation. Expectations that Spiljak's visit to the United States will give an encouragement to greater economic cooperation between the two countries were also expressed.